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Aristides' Apology and the Novel Barlaam and Ioasaph

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Aristides' *Apology* and the Novel *Barlaam and Ioasaph*

by

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PhD Theology

March 2015

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Abstract

This thesis explores the so-called *Apology of Aristides* as it can be found within *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (henceforth *B&I*). Scholars have started from the hypothesis (when comparing the Greek *B&I* version to the Syriac version) that the redactor of *B&I* has removed details from within the *Apology*. Although this has a *prima facie* probability, no scholar has addressed whether this one hundred year old hypothesis holds any truth: a truth which I will unravel. In order to understand a text within a framing text, one needs to get a clear idea of the latter, especially its textual form and its core ideas. This allows an insight into the relationship between the two entities. I ask which elements of the *Apology* entered *B&I* and have been seen as fitting this framework, which of the linguistic entities and theological ideas are consistent with both the time and content of *B&I*, and how the *Apology* reads as part of the overall narrative of the *B&I*. I explore the role played by this ‘added’ text in *B&I*, and why the author or redactor may have chosen to use it. Furthermore, is this text the only fragment that was added to *B&I*? Once the ‘text’ of the *Apology* is understood in its frame, I argue, can we examine how that frame may have impacted on the interpretation of the *Apology*, and whether and to what extent it may have impacted on the text itself. This answer to the latter question may already have been suggested when looking at how the linguistic entities fit the *B&I* frame. Finally, I compare the *Apology* of the *B&I* with the older Greek papyri of the *Apology*. A study such as mine has never been accomplished, and yet such a study proves essential in understanding the Greek version of the *Apology*, as it appears in *B&I*, and how this new information relates to the other versions of the *Apology*. What we discover is that the redactor has not changed much of the *B&I* version of the *Apology* as previous scholarship suggests.

Introduction

The Greek text of Aristides' *Apology* (henceforth *Apology*) suffers from a fundamental problem in terms of its integrity. While Christian tradition situates the composition of this work in the second century, it is not attested by an extant Greek version that can be ascribed in its entirety to the second century text.¹ Although most scholars and textbooks portray and discuss the *Apology* as if it were a second century text, even the oldest known Christian *Apology*,² it soon became clear that if the text does date back to the second century, it must have been reworked subsequently.

This is very evident from the inclusion of 'creedal statements' about Jesus and the Virgin Mary in the fifteenth chapter of the *Apology*,³ but in addition to that, language and statements from the fourteenth to the seventeenth chapters of the *Apology*, when checked against what may have been an 'original' part of the *Apology* and what

¹ M. Alexandre, 'Apologétique' (1998): 3; R. Volk, 'Symeon Metaphrastes' (1996): 84; B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 77-106; C. Vona, *L'Apologia* (1950): 25-68; W. Den Boer, 'Hermeneutic problems' (1947): 150-67; E. J. Goodspeed, *Early Christian Literature* (1942): 137; I. P. Bock, 'Aristides et auctoris Epistolae ad Diognetum' (1931): 1-16; J. de Zwaan, 'Apology' (1925): 112-4; J. Kaspar, 'Aristides' (1913): 25-54; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): xxxiii-xliii; G. Bareille, 'Aristide' (1903): 1866; J. A. Robinson, 'Apology' (1896): 25-51; P. Pape, *Aristides* (1894): 11-2, 15-6; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 12-3; A. Harnack, *Geschichte* (1893): 97; E. Hennecke, 'Aristides-Apologie' (1893): 67-9; L. Lemme, *Apologie* (1893): 336-40; M. Picard, *L'apologie* (1892): 6, 26, 34-8, 46-7; J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 35-64, 82-99; H. Doucet, 'L'Épître a Diognète' (1880): 602-11; F. von Himpel, 'Das Fragment der Apologie' (1880): 109-27.

² For example F. von Himpel, 'Das Fragment der Apologie' (1880): 127 states: 'Nothing opposes [the idea that] it has been written by a Christian philosopher of the second century, that would have mingled with Platonic ideas of a Johannine mind'. First, the article implies the *Apology* has a connection to the Gospel of *Luke* which is unlikely, as we will discuss later in chapter 2.D.iii of this study. Second, the author of the *Apology* cannot have had 'a Johannine mind' because within the *Apology* there is no *Logos* theology (see chapter 2.D.ii of this study). Third, contained within the *Apology* is fourth century theology which needs to be examined further to assess whether any of the current *Apology* contents does originate from the second century.

³ Because of the creed and contents of the *Apology* we know the *Apology* has been redacted sometime after the second century: but how much later? By drawing a similarity between the *Apology* and other second century texts we could say whether, or not, the *Apology* contents has been reworked. However this is on the basis that we know the other second century texts have not also been later redacted. See R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 3, 24; R. Seeberg, 'Die Apologie' (1891): 942-3 who thinks the theology of the Greek *B&I* version has had the most reworking. For a further discussion on the creeds see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (1950): 76; P. Pape, *Aristides* (1894): 10; L. Lemme, *Apologie* (1893): 333-4.

has been redacted later (in particular in the fourth century), often point to later redactional work.⁴

It was then at the outset my concern to answer the research question: ‘To what extent does the language and content of the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* suggest a later, probably fourth century, redaction of the text?’⁵ In order to do this it was necessary to travel a long road into secondary literature. This enabled me to discover the importance of the frame from which the Greek text of the *Apology* has been extracted by Patristic scholars, namely the eleventh century novel entitled *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (*B&I*).⁶ I soon realised that the question for this study should rather be: ‘With a specific focus on chapters 14 to 17 of the *Apology*,⁷ to what extent do the language and content of *B&I* impact the language and content of the *Apology*?’⁸ When the reception history of a text is taken into account, it changes the nature of how the text is viewed. Therefore, the *Apology* as it appears in *B&I* must be viewed not simply as a second century text, but as a text as it had been received by the eleventh century.

⁴ R. van den Broek, ‘Eugnostos and Aristides’ (1988): 204 thinks the creed in chapter 2 of the *Apology* has its closest parallels to the Eastern creeds which are no earlier than 360 A.D.. It is difficult to ascertain what the ‘original’ text looked like. See J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 34-96 for a discussion on this.

R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 13-7 is the only scholar who looks at other fourth century theologians (such as Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzenus, John Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem) and compares similar theology, language and structure to the *Apology*. I concur with Seeberg’s findings: when I first analysed the *Apology* I undertook a similar study. Concentrating on Chapters 14 to 17 of the Greek, I discovered some parallels between these fourth century theologians and the *Apology*.

M. Tarchnišvili, ‘Les Deux Recensions’ (1958): 66 thinks the *Apology* was already lost by the fifth century. This is true for the Greek version of the *Apology* but we could say the *Apology* was lost earlier as Eusebius does not have a copy of it (A. N. Modona, ‘Aristide’ [1922]: 318). Further, Tarchnišvili does not qualify what he meant by it being ‘lost’: was it no longer in wider circulation and reduced to private libraries, or was it lost (and therefore unknown) until it was discovered by the redactor of *B&I*?

⁵ As important as this research was (and is), what I soon discovered is that I have first missed a step in research before such findings can be published. This step is what one part of this study hopes to achieve: how the novel of *B&I* impacts the text of the *Apology*. Once we have understood how *B&I* has affected the Greek version of the *Apology*, only then are we able to ask what other parts of the *Apology* have been redacted. Consider this study as the first layer of trying to unmask the Greek version of the *Apology*, of trying to disseminate the *Apology* away from *B&I*.

⁶ *The Apology of Aristides* has seventeen chapters. *B&I* has forty chapters. All seventeen chapters of the *Apology* appears as one chapter in *B&I*: chapter 27.

Footnote 39 discusses the secondary sources which we have available: the reader will discover that there is very little.

⁷ Specific focus needs to be placed upon these chapters because they contain what are to be considered as the more ‘Christological’ parts of the *Apology*: these parts have the greater potential to reveal information regarding the redactor of *B&I*’s language, and we are able to compare this to the *Apology*’s language.

⁸ R. Raabe, ‘Die Apologie’ (1892): 32-3 is the only other scholar to look at the Greek version of the *Apology* as part of *B&I*. However his comparison is only two pages long, and he does not look at the implications this has on either *B&I* or the *Apology*. This sums up the majority of scholarship: they use the Greek version of the *Apology*, as found in *B&I*, but do not discuss in any depth the implication this has on either text.

A number of approaches have been taken by scholars in studying the *Apology* with the earliest ones to attempt to recreate the ‘original’ version. Scholars who have worked in the field of Aristides can write about the ‘original text’ with no substantiation of what is meant by ‘original’; was it the text which Aristides wrote, or a text which derives from *B&I*? Robert Volk,⁹ discusses which manuscripts of *B&I* are the closest to the ‘original’ version of the text produced by the redactor of *B&I* and calls, as we will later see in more detail, some manuscripts ‘Urtext’. Although these manuscripts seem to be the most reliable ones, there are, nevertheless, further scribal errors (purposeful or accidental) which come into play. To speak of the ‘original’ version of the *Apology* is, therefore, impossible while the question of who authored these redacted versions of the *Apology* has not been resolved. Therefore to search for Aristides’ ‘original text’ would be to simplify the complexity of the history of the text unsatisfactorily.

I must agree with the latest editors of the text, B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre,¹⁰ who conclude that it is impossible to restore the original text of the *Apology*, although taking this approach wholeheartedly would limit conclusions which we can draw from the *Apology*: for example, the ability to ascertain the extent to which the redactor of *B&I* has influenced the Greek version of the *Apology*.

Early studies searched for the ‘Urtext’. Geffcken¹¹ reproduced what he thought the ‘original’ Greek version of the *Apology* would have looked like: he accomplished this through comparing similarities between the different versions of the *Apology*, concluding that such similarities must indicate a common source, that of the ‘original’ Greek version.¹² However, scholars remained sceptical and opined that this ‘original’ Greek version of the *Apology* ‘must be regarded with some suspicion’.¹³

The *Apology* is preserved in two different recensions, a short one, documented by the Armenian tradition, and a long one, preserved by the Greek witnesses (Fragments and *B&I*) and the Syriac. The short Armenian version derives from an Armenian manuscript that is dated to the year 981 A.D. (which contains only the first two chapters

⁹ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006).

¹⁰ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 156.

¹¹ J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907).

¹² ‘The original Greek of the *Apology* was thought to have been lost by the time of St. Jerome, though it was preserved in the Sinai Syriac text as well as in the Armenian and Greek fragments which came to light at various times.’ (D. M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* [1957]: 58).

¹³ F.C. Conybeare, ‘The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend’ (1896): 139.

of the *Apology*) and three apographa of it.¹⁴ The longer recension is supported by three fourth century Greek fragments,¹⁵ and an eleventh century Greek version which appears in the *B&I* novel,¹⁶ and by an even longer version¹⁷ in a seventh century Syriac manuscript.¹⁸

While Geffcken, and others, thought it possible to draw out the ‘original’ Greek text from a comparison of the surviving versions of the *Apology*, the present study is more cautious, focussing on the discrepancies and parallels among the various sources,¹⁹ and comparing side-by-side the different versions of the *Apology* (Greek fragments, Syriac, Armenian, Greek *B&I* as well as the later Latin version as contained in the Latin translation of *B&I*). Placing these versions of the *Apology* in chronological order enables us to understand the differences and similarities among them, and gives an idea of how the *Apology* may have been reworked over time. One reason why, to date, no such side-by-side comparison has been made is that each version of the *Apology* has been treated as a discrete unit. In this thesis, as a guiding working principle when dealing with one version of the *Apology*, we always acknowledge the similarities and differences (as well as absences) in the other versions.²⁰

¹⁴ Contained in Cod. Erevan, Matenadaran 2679, fol. 154^v-155^v. On this and the apographa see chapter 1.B.iii of this study for more information on the Armenian version.

¹⁵ The first two fragments P.Oxy. XV 1778 and P.Heidel. inv. G 1013, originate from the same manuscript, although they are badly preserved. This manuscript covers (with lacunae) *Apology* 4.3 - 6.2. The third fragment is P.London 223 (olim inv. 2486), covering *Apology* 15.4 - 16.2. See chapter 1.B.i for a further in depth discussion on the Greek fragments.

¹⁶ There are a number of manuscripts which contain the *B&I* novel. The three manuscripts which R. Volk places most reliance on are three texts known as ‘Urtext’. These are Athos, Μονή Ἰβήρων 462, fol. 1^r – 260^v; Kiev, Instytut rukopysu Nacional’noj biblioteky Ukraïny imeni V. I. Vernads’koho, Fond V – Odes’ke tovarystvo istorii ta starozhytnostej 3692 (olim Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα), fol. 1^r – 206^v; Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα K 49 (1336), fol. 1^r – 72^v and 75^r – 284^r. See chapter 1.A.i.4.b for a detailed study on the *B&I* manuscripts and the variances within these. A stemma of how the different versions of the *Apology* relate to one another can be found in chapter 1.B.iv of this study.

¹⁷ I avoid to speak of a ‘complete’ version, as this would benchmark the *Apology* against the longest extant version. In comparison, the Greek version is two-thirds of the length of the Syriac version of the *Apology*.

¹⁸ Codex Sinaiticus syr. S. Catherine. 16. See chapter 1.B.ii of this study for a further discussion on the Syriac version of the *Apology*.

¹⁹ See already R. Raabe, ‘Die Apologie’ (1892): 33-62 who discusses the discrepancies between the Syriac and Greek.

²⁰ This is what B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre (*Apologie* [2003]) do regarding textual tradition, and in forming a stemma of a text, but conclude that each text is a separate strain of the *Apology*. This is evident when each text is dealt with separately. Instead, the texts need to be placed synoptically to gain a deeper understanding of the language.

It was not just Geffcken but other critical text scholars who have attempted to understand and establish which textual tradition of the *Apology* has precedence over the other versions. They have come to their conclusions through inference: a text that contains the most commonality between the different versions is the text with the least signs of redaction. An intense period of discussion concerning the *Apology* followed the discovery by James Rendel Harris of the Syriac papyrus in 1889 (Codex Sinaiticus 16).²¹ As a result of this finding, the Greek version of the *Apology*, which had lain unsuspected in *B&I*, was rediscovered. Because the Syriac version of the *Apology* is longer, and therefore considered to be more ‘complete’ than the Greek version, a number of scholars tried to determine which was superior.²² They concluded that the Syriac was the most reliable witness and, hence, would come closest to what an original version of the *Apology* had looked like. Consequently, a vast amount of research has been undertaken into the Syriac version.²³ Some consideration has been given to the Greek fragments of the text,²⁴ and to the Armenian version;²⁵ however, there has been less specific discussion on the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*.²⁶

After the discovery of the Syriac text, and the assertion of the superiority of the Syriac version, little attention was paid to the *Apology* in the twentieth century. More

²¹ J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891).

²² See the discussion below on the *Apology*’s stemma, and the claim the Syriac is more ‘complete’ than the Greek version.

²³ The Syriac version was first published, with a discussion on their findings, by J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891). Subsequent scholars who have studied the Syriac version of the *Apology* include C. Vona, *L’Apologia* (1950); J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907); R. Raabe, ‘Die Apologie’ (1892); J. Schönfelder, ‘Die Apologie des Aristides’ (1892): 531-57.

The plausibility of the Syriac solution does not preclude research into the *B&I* version, but the results of that research do not call into question the precedence of the Syriac version.

²⁴ See D. Hagedorn, ‘Ein neues Fragment zu P.Oxy. XV 1778’ (2000): 40-4; H.J.M. Milne, ‘Apology of Aristides’ (1924): 73; B. P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1922): 1-6. See also C. Alpignano, ‘L’Apologia di Aristide’ (1986): 332-57; A. D’Alès, ‘L’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1924): 354-9; G. Krüger, ‘Aristides Apologie 15,6-16, 12’ (1924): 47-8; A.N. Modona, ‘Aristide’ (1922): 317-27.

²⁵ See O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, Erster Band (1902); F.C. Conybeare, ‘The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend’ (1896): 101-42; P. Pape, *Aristides* (1894); F. von Himpel, ‘Das Fragment der Apologie’ (1880): 109-27; L. Gautier, ‘Un fragment de l’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1879): 78-82; F. Sasse, ‘Ein in armenischer Übersetzung’ (1879): 612-8. A study on the Armenian version of the *Apology* is being undertaken by Donna Risk, a fellow PhD student. She analyses all extant Armenian manuscripts, will produce a critical edition, and writes a study on the reception of the *Apology* in Armenia. The presumably oldest manuscript that dates from 981 A.D. and one has to ask what its source was. In the past, scholars have suggested that the Armenian version has been translated in the fifth century from Greek (see above), although the problem of such a statement is the lack of a comparable Greek text from the fifth century, as the one that we have dates from much later.

²⁶ Not one scholar has concentrated on the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*: scholars have only mentioned it in discussion with the other versions of the *Apology*.

recently, the main contributors to the discussion have been Bernard Pouderon and Marie-Joseph Pierre,²⁷ who in 2003 published a critical edition of the text.²⁸ This edition brings together the opinions of previous scholars on the *Apology*, but adds little that had not already been brought to our attention in those earlier studies.²⁹ Pouderon and Pierre produce a stemma of the *Apology*. However, despite claiming to have had access to Volk's critical edition of *B&I*,³⁰ they do not include all the manuscripts used by Volk.³¹ In this regard, the new 'critical edition' of the *Apology* does not go beyond previous editions of the text.³² Let me expound this criticism a little further. The exclusion of a number of manuscripts from Pouderon and Pierre's critical edition of the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* leaves us to conclude that we cannot rely on that edition for a full analysis, but instead need use Volk's critical edition of *B&I*, which provides a fuller depiction of manuscript variances.

Thus far, we have seen how scholars have tried to come to terms with the complex sources from which they extracted and divined an 'original' *Apology*. In contrast, the latest edition of Pouderon and Pierre has given up the attempt to harmonise the sources, to discuss and display them one after the other. Other scholars have searched for similarities between the *Apology* and other first and second century texts,

²⁷ In collaboration with B. Outtier and M. Guiorgadze.

²⁸ The Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* is based on R. Volk's critical edition of *B&I* which gives priority to manuscripts *Athos Ivion* 462 and *Kiev V* 3692.

²⁹ Until 1955 when David Marshall Lang started to discuss Georgian scholarship opinion, there had been a language barrier between Georgian scholars and other European scholars because of the lack of interest in specialist literature. See E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 207. Other than Lang, M. Brière 'Lettres georgiennes chretiennes' (1957): 75-98 was the only other scholar who discussed Georgian scholarship. Here, Brière gave a summary of Kekelidze's important work on the Georgian version of *B&I*.

³⁰ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Aristide Apologie* (2003): 123, 128-30. B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre's critical edition was published three years before Volk's critical edition of *B&I*, see R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006) and (2009). Volk published the critical edition of the *B&I* in 2006 (Volume 2) and three years later released his comments and study on the novel which included a full list of the manuscripts (Volume 1).

³¹ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre refer to eleven manuscripts which contain *B&I* in their critical edition of the *Apology*. R. Volk however uses twenty-five manuscripts in his critical edition of chapter 27 of *B&I*, the *Apology* chapter. I am aware that not all manuscripts have to be used when trying to reconstruct a critical edition of a text, however Pouderon and Pierre do not include the third 'Urtext' text (*Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα K* 49 [1336]) which is, according to Volk, the group of texts which contain the fewest corruptions and is the closest to the 'Archetypal' text (see chapter 1.A.i.3.b of this study). It is astonishing to myself that you would not want to use a manuscript such as this which is meant to contain the fewest corruptions.

³² Such as C. Alpignano, *Aristide di Atene* (1988); K.-G. Essig, 'Erwägungen' (1986): 163-88; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907); R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894); E. Hennecke, 'Aristides-Apologie' (1893): 42-126; M. Picard, *L'apologie* (1892); J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891). These editions only use a selected number of *B&I* manuscripts available to the scholars. R. Volk was the first to publish all the *B&I* manuscripts that we know of.

in order to find a supportive context for their suggested text of the *Apology*.³³ In each case, we can see the extent to which Aristidian scholarship has firmly fixed and located the *Apology* in the second century.

Scholars have approached the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* in a number of ways. They have extracted the *Apology* from chapter 27 of *B&I*³⁴ and treated it as a separate entity, assumed to have been inserted without alterations into *B&I* by its redactor. Alternatively, scholars have approached the *Apology* as part of a wider study on *B&I*. That is to say, they have discussed all the sections of *B&I*, including the *Apology*, without undertaking a full study of the *Apology* as part of *B&I*.³⁵ Let us examine these two approaches in more detail.

Internally, the *Apology* (in particular chapters 14 to 17) is extremely complex. The first thirteen chapters concern the Chaldeans, Greeks and Egyptians. The ideas within these chapters are comparable to texts such as Pseudo-Justin's *Cohortatio ad Graecos*;³⁶ however, the content is similar to other first and second century Patristic

³³ For a comparison between the *Apology* and Biblical ideas see F. Chapot, 'Apologie 4,1 et 15, 1' (1998): 201; F. Sasse, 'Ein in armenischer Übersetzung' (1879): 618.

For a comparison between the *Apology* and Philo, as well as other Jewish Apologetics, see J. Kaspar, 'Aristides' (1913): 4-5; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): xxiv-xxxiii.

For a comparison between the *Apology* and *Didache* see B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 77-106; C. Vona, *L'Apologia* (1950): 41; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): xxiv; J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 84-6.

For a comparison between the *Apology* and *The Preaching of Peter* see B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 78-9; J.R. Harris, 'Celsus' (1921-2): 164. Harris suggests the *Apology* depends on *The Preaching of Peter* as its source. See also J.A. Robinson, 'Apology' (1896): 25-51; E. Hennecke, 'Aristides-Apologie' (1893): 65-6; J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 86-99.

For a comparison between the *Apology* and *Epistle to Diognetus* see B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 80-1; C. Vona, *L'Apologia* (1950): 29. Vona compares similar doctrine located in the *Apology* and *Epistle to Diognetus*. See also H. Doucet, 'L'Épître a Diognète' (1880): 606-11 who judges the similarities between the *Apology* and the *Epistle* are noticeable in the Armenian text.

For a comparison between the *Apology* and Justin's *Apology* see H. Doucet, 'L'Épître a Diognète' (1880): 604 who thinks Aristides is an imitation of Justin. See also C. Vona, *L'Apologia* (1950): 42; G. Bareille, 'Aristide' (1903): 1864; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, Erster Band (1902): 195-7; A. Hilgenfeld, 'Zu der Apologie des Aristides' (1893): 103-5; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 12-3; E. Egli, 'Apologie des Aristides' (1893): 99-103.

Harris thinks that Celsus knew the *Apology* and wrote against it: in particular the chapters of the *Apology* which contain the Christian creed. J. R. Harris, 'Celsus' (1921-2): 169-74; J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 19-23. See also B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 81-2.

³⁴ Scholars have done this when consulting other versions of the *Apology*.

³⁵ The only in depth study which has been undertaken is by Franz Dölger (*Barlaam-Roman* [1953]) who, in trying to assert John of Damascus as author, located a number of passages which the redactor of *B&I* draws upon. It will soon become evident that the redactor of *B&I* uses a number of Church Fathers, as well as Biblical quotes, throughout *B&I* and it is not just John of Damascus and the *Apology* that are inserted into the novel.

³⁶ See C. Riedweg, 'A Christian Middle-Platonic Document' (1993): 177-83 who discusses some of the Platonic theology contained within the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*: the contents and theology reflect the first two chapters of the *Apology*.

texts.³⁷ Because chapters 14 to 17 of the *Apology* deal with dogmatically impregnated topics (Jewish and Christian), the language is to some extent not comparable to that of earlier chapters. It is these dogmatic statements in chapters 14 to 17 that appear to have been constantly reworked and revised by subsequent generations of readers and scribes of the *Apology*.³⁸

The four chapters on the Jews and Christians (chapters 14 to 17 of the *Apology*) stand out compared to the first thirteen chapters with regard to terminology in context, the forms used and the content expressed. Within them, as noted, we find ideas and language that seem alien to a second century text, as well as parallels that cannot be drawn anywhere else until the time of the publication of *B&I*, as will be shown, in the eleventh century. Yet, if we compare the reception of a number of texts in Judaism and early Christianity, it is not strange to find an *Apology* (which according to Eusebius and Jerome was written by Aristides in the second century, and delivered to either emperor Hadrian or Antoninus Pius)³⁹ that had diverse use and had undergone a complex history of reception, both textually and in terms of theological language and content. The *Apology* has clearly undergone substantial changes and re-writings, and the different versions are often in stark disagreement with regard to the text and its overall structure. It is striking that past scholarship first tried to reconstruct what was hoped to be the ‘original’ text of this *Apology*, while later it seemed to abandon any such hope.⁴⁰ So, in the latest edition we face the different versions set apart from each other without any

³⁷ As we have previously discussed.

³⁸ Such a span of this millennium would provide a fruitless discourse in trying to date the text. It does show us however that there were Apologies (I would be somewhat reserved in calling the *Apology* of Aristides, an Apology as it does not defend the Christian faith here, but merely slander polytheistic gods, reducing them to mere men and women who are adulterers and thieves) which circulated in Christian circles. These Apologies must have had a precise and well used argument against polytheistic religions. These arguments were so well known that scribes or readers felt no need to change the content nor approach of the Apology when it discusses polytheism.

³⁹ See Eusebius, *Church History* 4.3.3, *Chronicle ad annum* 124-5; Jerome, *Illustrious Men* 20, *Epistle* 70.4 *Ad Magnum*; *Roman Martyrology* 31 August; *Martyrology of Ado of Vienne* 3 October.

See also J.K.T. von Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum* (1872): 344. Otto also notes that there are alternative dates for Aristides: in his *Martyrologio* (produced in 860 A.D.), the Vienna archbishop attributed Aristides to the 5th October. This is the same date is given in Usuardus, San-Germanensis monachus in *Martrologio*: produced between 869 and 877 A.D.. For Barlaam and Ioasaph the Roman Catholic Church set their date on 27th November. The Greek church however commemorates Ioasaph on August 26th and the Russian Orthodox Church remembers Barlaam and Ioasaph and Abenner on November 19th.

⁴⁰ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre do not expound upon the reasons why they treat each version of the *Apology* as a separate text (*Aristides Apologie* [2003]: 32). The closest that the French scholars get in trying to understand the ‘original’ is through trying to assert the superiority of the Syriac by comparing this version to the Armenian, Greek fragments and Greek *B&I* version (see *ibid* 133-56).

attempt to harmonise them, and yet, paradoxically, read the editors' claim that they see in what is no longer a text the work of a second century Christian Apologist.

As we have seen above with Eusebius of Caesarea, there is a strong tendency among scholars to seek to place this text as early as possible, and to give it additional weight and importance. However, we will need to assess the external evidence to see whether the sources we have support the early dating of a text that is no longer preserved in its original form.⁴¹ If we follow the latest critical edition, it exists only in the diverging forms in which it was received, which show clear traces of substantial later redaction.

Turning to the second method that scholars have taken in analysing the *Apology*, we find that secondary literature regarding *B&I* is concerned almost exclusively with the progeny of the *B&I* text. Some scholarly discussion⁴² on the content of *B&I* does occur, with a small number of these studies including a section on the *Apology*; but there is little consideration on the importance of the *Apology* within *B&I*. The Greek version of the novel was a catalyst that resulted in the novel being translated into a number of European languages; however, this has stimulated very little in the way of scholarly study. For example, no scholar has looked at how the text of the *Apology* in *B&I* has changed over the numerous translations and editions.⁴³ Neither the impact of the *Apology* on *B&I*, nor the impact of *B&I* on the *Apology*, has been discussed in any depth.⁴⁴ It is not just a discussion on the relationship between *B&I* and the *Apology* that is needed, but also an insight into the text of the *Apology*, in order to see the linguistic changes it has undergone over time. Only after understanding how the *Apology* had been redacted when it was placed into *B&I* can we delve into a reflection on whether language and content echo a second century context, or whether the 'multilayeredness'

⁴¹ S. Schoenbaum, 'Internal Evidence' (1966): 189 states: 'external evidence can and often does provide incontestable proof; internal evidence can only support hypotheses or corroborate external evidence.' This approach is dangerous as taking external evidence alone we must conclude the *Apology* was written by Aristides in the second century. When we take the internal evidence, we learn that where this text may originate from the second century, the theology and language suggests at least one redaction in the fourth century, with the possibility of other copyists and redactors who have changed the *Apology* text.

⁴² See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009); G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (1967).

⁴³ Furthermore, no detailed research has been undertaken as to how the different translations, which stem from the Latin version of *B&I*, differ to the other versions of *B&I*.

⁴⁴ Volk and Pouderon both acknowledge that there is some similarity between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology* chapter. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 122; B. Pouderon, 'd'Apol. 14.2 Ba' (2001): 76-86.

of the *Apology* is so evident that the redactional process will not lead us back to a second century stage.

The *Apology of Aristides* is an important and complex piece of literature, which has thus far been considerably understudied. It is difficult to understand why there has been little study on the nature and diverse textual traditions of the *Apology*, given that it is considered to be the first ever Christian Apology.⁴⁵ While Aristidian specialists have been unwilling or lacked confidence to study the *Apology* in *B&I*,⁴⁶ *B&I* scholars have been uncertain how to deal with the *Apology* and have not devoted much time to exploring the issues of its insertion in the novel.⁴⁷ Neither group of scholars has dared to cross into the territory of the other, to look at how the *Apology* impacts *B&I* and how *B&I* impacts the *Apology*.

The first aim of this study is to analyse how much the *Apology* has been changed by the redactor of *B&I*. To do so, it is necessary to scrutinise the extent to which the redactor of *B&I* has been influenced by either the content or the language of the *Apology*, borrowing directly or indirectly from the *Apology*, and placing it into *B&I*. Even the three fragments of Greek papyri, as we will soon discover, may have undergone regional changes, and might be more ‘culturally strained’ than the *Apology* as found in *B&I*, so that tracing an ‘original’ text is highly problematic. The fragments derive from Oxyrhynchus⁴⁸ in Egypt, while the Greek *B&I* version, as attested by some of the early manuscripts, points to Mount Athos in Greece. If the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology* are correct in stating that the author Aristides was a philosopher of Athens, then we may assume that the *Apology* was originally written in Greek and that both the papyri and the Greek *B&I* version may reflect at least some of the original text. And yet, as our study will show, despite the language basis, the geographical and historical reception process had an enormous impact on the text, which is one reason

⁴⁵ M. Alexandre, ‘Apologétique’ (1998): 4; J. Pépin ‘Aristide d’Athènes’ (1989): 367; A. Wartelle, ‘Sur le vocabulaire’ (1989): 40; J. Kaspar, ‘Aristides’ (1913): 5, 25; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 39; K.-G. Essig, ‘Erwägungen’ (1986): 171; A. Harnack, ‘Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten’ (1883): 102.

⁴⁶ It is impossible to understand why Aristidian scholars have failed to accomplish this. It is understandable that because *B&I* is composed 850 years after the *Apology*, Patristic scholars may feel uncomfortable in looking at the *Apology* in a different time period, however it is vital to go outside this ‘comfort zone’ to be able to understand the textual relation between the *Apology* and *B&I*.

⁴⁷ This is especially evident when the redactor of *B&I*, as we will soon discover, inserts a variety of Church Fathers into the *B&I* novel.

⁴⁸ We include here P. London. See H.J.M. Milne, ‘A New Fragment of the Apology of Aristides’ (1924): 73-7 who explores why it is thought that this manuscript originated from Oxyrhynchus.

why a number of scholars have trusted the translation more than the Greek text. Against this background, and based on what we have learnt from the study of the relationship between the *Apology* in *B&I* and *B&I* as a whole, the second aim of this study is to analyse the Greek text of the *Apology* in comparison with the Greek papyri. Can we find further redacted elements in either version? I hope that this will be the groundwork for future study on the *Apology* for others to either disseminate more widely the theological morphology of the *Apology* text, or to understand further how the Latin and later versions change the *B&I* version of the *Apology*.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ It would be of similar importance to the field of Aristides to concentrate further on the internal evidence. I am limited to time within this study to explore such avenues, and it is something which needs to be researched into, with the same methods which I have employed: to constantly be aware of the external sources, as well as other textual traditions, always thinking about the bigger picture. Greater gaps are evident in the external evidence which is why this study takes precedence over this alternative study of the internal evidence.

Chapter 1: Aristides' *Apology* in the Novel *Barlaam and Ioasaph*

A) The Novel *Barlaam and Ioasaph*

The second century *Apology of Aristides*, in its Greek version, appears in extensive form for the first time in the mediaeval novel of *B&I*. Initially, this may not be a surprise, because if it were a popular *Apology* then such a text might have been read and used, redacted, even placed into other contexts, or used within another text. However, it becomes surprising when we learn that this is one of very few manuscript traditions of the *Apology*. We also have one complete Syriac manuscript, some Greek fragments, and the first two chapters, which appear in an Armenian anthology; all of these are earlier than the Greek *B&I* version. There is no early Latin, Coptic or other translation. The question that must be addressed is: 'Why does the *Apology* suddenly appear in a Byzantine novel?' To answer that question, we need to look more closely at the framing novel and explore what it entails, the history of its textual transmission, the way sources are dealt with, language, and authorship, in order to understand the role and function of the text of the *Apology* within it. Although one would have been inclined to present the content of the novel first, before introducing the reader to more technical details, the shifting nature of that content urges us to begin by describing its historical development, as this impacted substantially upon it.

i) A 'Text in Progress'

Barlaam and Ioasaph is a Greek mediaeval text which, in the form we have today, dates from the late tenth or early eleventh century, but which had gone through a number of theological, textual and language transmissions during the preceding centuries. A modern reader would consider it to be a Christian text, originating in the East. This is mainly because of the suggestion within the *lemma* that it has come from the 'inner land of the Ethiopians, called the land of the Indians', pointing out that Christianity is indeed widespread and that the land of the 'Indians' is one of a small number that does not accept Christianity but is inhabited by idolaters. Furthermore the text uses developed canonised theology such as the creed, as well as dogmatic statements on the nature of the Trinity, suggesting that it is deeply rooted in a Christian tradition that refers to fourth century theology.

However, *B&I* was not originally a post-fourth century Christian composition, but started off as ‘the life and ministry of Gautama Buddha’, as previous scholarship has shown.⁵⁰ There are numerous features in the life of the Buddha-elect, or the Bodhisattva as he is known, that have parallels with *B&I*; the principle structure⁵¹ of the text as well as some of the Buddhist teachings are still retained within our Greek version of the novel.⁵² The common elements between the texts include asceticism,⁵³ views on death, heaven, good and evil, Saviour, Return of the Messiah, and Destiny.⁵⁴ There are further moral agreements between *B&I* and the *Life of Buddha*, as well as a comparison between parables.⁵⁵ It is undeniable that *B&I* has a ‘Buddhist-Gnostic’ moral, although we also notice specific differences: an Orthodox Christian sees matter as bad, because of the Fall; a Christian Dualist sees matter as ‘irretrievably bad’; a Buddhist sees matter as irrelevant.⁵⁶

One might presume that a Christian novel cannot derive from what may be called an ‘atheistic religion’, such as Buddhism;⁵⁷ although Buddha ‘recognized that there exists an eternal being transcending time, space and change, and in the urge to forsake the temporal for the eternal, Buddhist and Christian asceticism, in spite of their differing theological bases, are often at one’.⁵⁸ It is particularly the asceticism of

⁵⁰ P. Bádenas, ‘la Historia de Barlaam y Josafat’ (1996): 215; E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 194; L.R. Mills, ‘L’histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat’ (1973): 7; D. M. Lang, ‘Oriental Materials’ (1971): 109; D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): x; H. Peri, ‘La plus ancienne traduction latine’ (1959): 170; J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Josaphat* (1949): 58-9; W. Bang, ‘Manichäische Erzähler’ (1931): 7; A. D’Alès, ‘L’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1924): 355; N.A. Bees, ‘Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse’ (1922): 320; E. Kuhn, ‘Barlaam und Josaphat’ (1893): 4-8; E. Cosquin, ‘La légende’ (1880): 594. Liebrecht was one of the first to notice the similarities between the two texts. See F. Liebrecht, ‘Die Quellen’ (1860): 315-30.

For an English translation see Ásvaghosa, *The Buddhacarita* (1972). For summary of the *Life of Buddha* text, see E.A. W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): xlv-xlviii. For a small comparison between the two texts see J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896): xlv-xlvi; E. Cosquin, ‘La légende’ (1880): 596.

⁵¹ To see how the structure has changed within each translated version of the *Life of Buddha* (as it made its way to the Western Christianised form of *B&I*), see S. Runciman, *Medieval Manichee* (1947): 21.

⁵² See D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): ix.

⁵³ H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 48-50 also notices the dominance of ascetic doctrine within *B&I*. M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 18 agrees with Zotenberg.

⁵⁴ M.B. Pitts, ‘Legend’ (1981): 9-11; F. Liebrecht, ‘Die Quellen’ (1860): 334.

⁵⁵ F. Liebrecht, ‘Die Quellen’ (1860): 330-1.

⁵⁶ See S. Runciman, *Medieval Manichee* (1947): 186.

⁵⁷ Yet, one also has to note that ‘Buddhism’ is a concept constructed in the period of enlightenment which obscures the fact that we also know of ‘Buddhist’ traditions which know of God and gods, as for example, some Tibetan Buddhisms.

⁵⁸ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 17.

Buddha and his teachings that strikes a comparison with *B&I*.⁵⁹ It is required of a Buddhist monk that he abstain from:

- 1) destruction of life
- 2) theft
- 3) falsehood
- 4) sexual intercourse
- 5) intoxicants
- 6) meals after midday
- 7) dancing and gaiety
- 8) personal adornment
- 9) comfortable beds
- 10) the use of money.⁶⁰

Some Buddhist ethical teaching can be seen as the root of some monastic thought, although we must hasten to add, not all monastic thought stems from Buddhist ethics.

In addition to this similarity in the asceticism of Buddhism and Christianity,⁶¹ the narrative framework of *B&I* is remarkably close to that of a Buddhist text.⁶² There are some close parallels between ‘the arguments used by the Christian hermit in converting the king’s son’,⁶³ and the teachings of Buddhist scriptures that are enshrined within *The Life of Buddha*.

1) The Manichaeon Bridge

The Life of Buddha was not transformed directly into *B&I*. A number of intermediate steps have been noted on the basis of existing manuscript traditions, as will be detailed below. In addition, the text moved geographically, from an Indian cultural and religious background to a Greek Christian environment, and underwent further migration, internal to the text itself.⁶⁴ At one stage in its transmission the text became

⁵⁹ No scholarly exploration has occurred into whether this is the reason (that is, the asceticism) why the redactor of *B&I* used this once Buddhist Tale. The only scholar to discuss the asceticism between *B&I* and *Life of Buddha* is D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xiv and H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 48-50.

⁶⁰ D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xiv. See also D.M. Lang, ‘Oriental Materials’ (1971): 109.

⁶¹ See *B&I* chapter 4.

⁶² Āśvaghoṣa, *The Buddhacarita* (1972).

⁶³ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 23. See also F. Liebrecht, ‘Die Quellen’ (1860): 330-1.

⁶⁴ D.M. Lang, *Balavariani* (1966): 11.

‘Manichaeised’ in Central Asia, when in the third or fourth century A.D., Buddhism and Manichaeism came into contact with each other.⁶⁵

From 1902 to 1915, German exploration parties made a series of large scale expeditions into Uzbekistan and Tajikistan,⁶⁶ where they found two fragments of Aśvaghoṣa’s *Buddha-carita: The Life of Buddha*. They also came across ‘a great quantity’⁶⁷ of Manichaean documents and fragments in Soghdian and in Old Turkish. The ‘Turkish texts are translations from an Iranian original’.⁶⁸ Two of these Turkish fragments bear similarity to *B&I*, as well as to its Buddhist predecessor,⁶⁹ and were discovered with Syrian writings that had come from the Manichaeans.⁷⁰ One textual transmission theory suggests that the *B&I* text has come through a lost intermediary Syriac version. This theory is quite plausible, as we will discuss below, especially as the Turfan fragments were discovered with other Syrian texts.

One of the Turkish fragments contains one of the four omens in which the Bodhisattva prince forsakes the world.⁷¹ The other contains an anecdote relating how a prince becomes so intoxicated he falls into an open grave and mistakes a corpse for a desirable woman. After attempting sexual intercourse, and falling asleep, he later wakes to find himself embracing the corpse and is horrified at his own depravity.⁷² Although this anecdote is omitted from our Christian recensions, it nevertheless illustrates the

⁶⁵ S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism* (1985): 175-84; D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xv. Manichaeism is in China by the seventh century. See S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism* (1985): 183.

⁶⁶ K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 18.

⁶⁷ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 26.

⁶⁸ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 27.

⁶⁹ Discovered and published by A. von Le Coq, ‘Ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment’ (1909): 1202-18. For an English translation of the fragments, see P. Almond, ‘The Buddha of Christendom’ (1987): 404-5. Bang provides the text with emendations, see W. Bang, ‘Manichäische Erzähler’ (1931): 1-36.

⁷⁰ A. von Le Coq, ‘Ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment’ (1909): 1218. Also recovered from Turfan, in Chinese Turkestan, were two fragments of an early Persian metrical rendering of the *B&I* legend, copied no later than the early tenth century. This was published by W.B. Henning, ‘Gedichthandschrift’ (1957): 305-7. Henning however does not state whether these fragments are of a Christian nature or not. Because the published manuscripts were (and still are to this day) untranslated, we cannot declare whether the Chinese Turkestan fragments have been Christianised. See also C. Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat* (2014): 7; P. Almond, ‘The Buddha of Christendom’ (1987): 405; D.M. Lang, ‘Oriental Materials’ (1971): 110; P. Peeters, ‘La première traduction latine’ (1931): 290.

⁷¹ See D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 27.

⁷² See D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 27.

Manichaeism's aversion to sexual pleasure.⁷³ The ethical point the author makes is, nonetheless, not lost, as it is an idea that is ethically transferable not only to Buddhism, as we have seen, but also to Christian monastic groups, and this can be seen within our novel, particularly in the character of Barlaam. We must hasten to add however that this is not a Christian text, and therefore it is no great surprise that the *Apology* does not appear. We know the Manichaean fragments are not Christianised because in the first fragment the word 'Bodhisav', the name for Buddha, is used;⁷⁴ we will discuss this in further detail below.

Manichaeism⁷⁵ was an adaptable faith. 'In the West, it assumed a Christian colouring; in the Near East it borrowed elements from the ancient Babylonian and Zoroastrian religion.⁷⁶ Likewise, in Central Asia, the Manichees absorbed elements of the Buddhist religion, many of which were by no means incompatible with their own ideals.'⁷⁷ Manichaeism in the East will still bear traces of Christianity, and since this is not present in the later Arabic versions we must conclude that the Manichaean text was not used as a source for the intermediate Pahlavi, Arabic or Syriac translation.

Although Manichaeism was an adaptable faith, nevertheless, at its core it 'equates evil with matter, good with spirit, and is therefore particularly suitable as a doctrinal basis for every form of asceticism and many forms of mysticism'.⁷⁸ This is why it was so easily able to absorb Buddhist elements into its beliefs. Furthermore, the

⁷³ D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' (1967): xv-xviii. The Manichaean fragment is believed to be eighth century (see K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* [1999] 18). Manichaeans and Christian hermits (who have taken an aversion to aesthetic pleasures, such as Barlaam in the novel) hold similar beliefs to one another.

⁷⁴ A. von Le Coq, 'Ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment' (1909): 1204. The original Sanskrit name for Buddha is *Bodhisattva*. Bodhisav then flows into the Arabic *Būdāsaf*. This is a natural name translation and suggests the Manichaean text is the link between the Sanskrit and the Arabic. There is split opinion as to whether the Pahlavi, Syriac or Arabic precede the Greek or Georgian *B&I*. Further we can see *Chinak* (Sanskrit), the Buddha's charioteer, is translated as *Chandaka* (Turfan fragment). *Satudan*, the Buddha's father, translates as *Suddhodana*. P. Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (1987): 405.

⁷⁵ Although Mani went to India, there is speculation whether Mani came into direct contact with Buddhism. S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism* (1985): 56 thinks that Mani encountered Buddhism through books and stories, whereas P. Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (1987): 404 states that Mani went to India and came into contact with Buddhism. I am inclined to agree with Almond because Mani saw Buddha (along with Jesus and Zoroaster) as his prophetic forerunner. The extent to which Mani was influenced by Buddhism remains unknown within scholarship.

⁷⁶ For a discussion on how Manichaeism encountered Buddhism see P. Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (1987): 404; S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism* (1985): 56; D.M. Lang, 'Oriental Materials' (1971): 112; J.O. Asmussen, *Studies in Manichaeism* (1965): 149; D.M. Lang, 'Blessed Iodasaph' (1957): 390; F.C. Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees* (1925).

⁷⁷ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 25.

⁷⁸ R.C. Zaehner, *Teachings* (1956): 53. See also P. Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (1987): 405; D.M. Lang, *Balavariani* (1966): 102.

Manichaeism view that the body is a prison is prominent throughout our Christian version of *B&I*. We can also compare Buddhist ideas to Manichaeism beliefs. Manichaeism 'were vegetarians, but the elect'⁷⁹ abstained from wine, from marriage, and from property. They were supposed to live a wandering life, possessing no more than food for a day and clothes for a year. Their obligation not to produce fresh life or to take it was so absolute that it extended to the vegetable kingdom: they might neither sow nor reap, nor even break their bread themselves...'⁸⁰ These parallels can also be found throughout *B&I*. Since the discovery of these Manichaeism texts, there has been unanimous agreement⁸¹ as to the first two stages of the life of the Greek *B&I*: it began as a Buddhist text, and then evolved into the Manichaeism text.⁸²

However here I must hasten to add that I myself do not believe that the Manichaeism text was used as the source for a Pahlavi, Syriac or Arabic translation.⁸³ The reason for this is that we have no Christianised Pahlavi, Syriac or Arabic version: what we do have is some non-Christianised Arabic versions. Furthermore although Manichaeism was an adaptable faith, it was centrally a Christian faith which was culturally and geographically strained: this would lead to only conclude that any subsequent versions of the novel which relied on the Manichaeism text, would have strong Christian undertones.

The next transition is somewhat disputed, with two divergent lines of thought. This next stage has been called by some scholars the 'intermediate link'⁸⁴ between the

⁷⁹ The difference between the Manichaeism ascetic, or elect, and an Orthodox Christian monk is as follows: the monk when he dies is a 'mourner' (a Syriac technical term); the Manichees do not hold this belief. See F.C. Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees* (1925): 46.

⁸⁰ F.C. Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees* (1925): 45. See also S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism* (1985): 208-13; J.O. Asmussen, *Studies in Manichaeism* (1965): 130-50; F.W.K. Müller, 'Handschriften-Reste' (1904): 348-54.

⁸¹ By K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 18; T. Bräm, 'Le Roman' (1994): 71; P.B. de la Pena, *Barlaam Y Josafat* (1993); J.C. Hirsh, *Barlam and Iosaphat* (1986); I.V. Abuladze, 'Introduction' (1966): 20; H. Peri, *Religionsdisput der Barlaam-Legende* (1959); D.M. Lang, 'Blessed Iodasaph' (1957): 389; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur* (1959): 37; W. Bang, 'Manichäische Erzähler' (1931): 7-9; P. Peeters, 'A review of F.C. Burkitt' (1925): 402-3.

⁸² Le Coq took the Manichaeism text 'not only as proof of the fact that Buddhism played an important part in Manichaeism, but also he maintained that it demonstrated that it was Manichees who first brought the legend of the Bodhisattva Prince to Europe.' P. Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (1987): 405; See A. von Le Coq, 'Ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment' (1909): 1205.

⁸³ We do not have either a Pahlavi or Syriac text of *B&I* and, although we have non-Christian Arabic versions, these are deemed to have a reliance upon the intermediate Pahlavi or Syriac text (and they themselves are not the 'intermediary' text). See below for a discussion on this.

⁸⁴ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 40. See also P.B. de la Pena, *Barlaam Y Josafat* (1993): xvii.

Manichaean (or, as I suggest, Sanskrit) text and the Georgian text. The latter came into existence in one of two ways: either through a Syriac text, or through an Arabic text.

2) The ‘Intermediate Link’

a) The Syriac

The question remains as to how the Manichaean (or Sanskrit) text and *B&I* are interlinked. This missing ‘intermediate’ text was originally, hypothetically, proposed to be in Syriac, as this seemed the most logical possibility. ‘Syriac was the main conduit pipe through which the treasures of Greek literature debouched on to the Orient, and inversely, it was mainly through Syriac versions that Oriental treasures were added to Greco-Byzantine literature.’⁸⁵ If Syriac was the ‘intermediate’ link to either Greek or Georgian,⁸⁶ it would therefore seem to be a logical conclusion.⁸⁷

In the absence of any Syriac version of *B&I*, the Syriac ‘intermediate’ recension theory remains just that: a theory. The few scholars⁸⁸ who supported it based their assumption on the texts that were available to them, namely the *Life of Buddha* and the

⁸⁵ J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896): xxxii. Those who support a Syriac intermediate also support John of Damascus as author of the novel as Syriac soon dissipated. See P. Peeters, ‘La première traduction latine’ (1931): 288-9.

⁸⁶ The Georgian Capital was in Tibilisi, governed by an *amir* from Baghdad. Due to their geographical location the Georgians encountered Eastern nations as well as Christians, Muslims and Arab populations: a Syriac version, later translated into Georgian, therefore seems plausible.

⁸⁷ Additionally, there are texts which have been translated from Pahlavi to Syriac. E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): lxxxv. However there are also books which were translated from Pahlavi to Arabic which are related to *B&I*. See E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): lxxxvi.

⁸⁸ J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896); R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894); E. Hennecke, ‘Rezension und Rekonstruktion’ (1893); E. Kuhn, ‘Barlaam und Joasaph’ (1893): 9; H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 1-166. Zotenberg believed that Euthymius translated the Greek text into Georgian.

Conybeare uses the knowledge that the *Apology* exists in the Syriac to predispose the notion that there must also therefore be a Syriac version of *B&I*. This Syriac version was the abridgement which is very close to Boissonade’s Greek text, which was created by John of Damascus. Conybeare goes on to create a piece of fiction regarding the nature of this Syriac (unknown) text, ‘the Syriac was probably much shorter and less padded out with disquisitions on all points of faith and morals. But in it the apologues had already assumed the order in which they follow in the Armenian and Greek: and it must have contained everything which the Greek and Armenian have in common.’ F.C. Conybeare, ‘The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend’ (1896): 139. Conybeare also supposes that the *Apology* existed in the Armenian version of *B&I* (there are three manuscripts: Bodleian Codex Marsh 438 Folio 578^b - 589^b [dated to 1482 A.D.] and British Museum Or. 4580 Fol. 164^b - 190^b [dated to 1434 A.D.]. The third manuscript is preserved in the Library of San Lazaro – Conybeare does not give the manuscript details) but the latter text has since been abridged – hence why the *Apology* does not feature in any of the manuscripts. See F.C. Conybeare, ‘The Barlaam and Josaphat Legend’ (1896): 138-9.

later Christianised Arabic version of the *B&I* novel,⁸⁹ both texts having been linked previously with the Greek *B&I*. At that stage no Manichaean text had been found, and although a Georgian text was known, it was the shorter version, *The Wisdom of Balahvar*;⁹⁰ the longer *Balvariani* (parent text to the Greek *B&I*, see below) had yet to be discovered. It has been suggested⁹¹ that the Syriac ‘intermediate’ text was the first Christian version of *B&I*.

Let us postulate that a version of the *Life of Buddha* did exist in Syriac, and that this was not only the first Christian version, but also the main conduit of the legend from the Middle East to the Holy Land. In doing so it is necessary first of all

‘to suppress the legend of the implanting of Christianity in India by the Apostle Thomas, the enlightener of the Syrians’. As a substitute for this tradition, a romance about St Barlaam was composed in the middle of the seventh century⁹² in the Syriac language, based on the Pahlavi redaction of the *Life of Buddha*, its underlying purpose, as would appear from the Georgian redactions, being ‘to prove that the enlightener of India was not the Apostle Thomas, but the Indian prince Ioasaph and his teacher Barlaam’.⁹³

Furthermore, as we will soon see when we discuss authorship, a detailed piece of fiction must be created concerning the movement of the text from the Greek of the eighth century (with John of Damascus as author), into Georgian and then back into Greek in the late tenth or early eleventh century.

⁸⁹ The availability of the Christianised Arabic version and its theological and textual development suggested to scholars that it was of a later date than the Greek (which it is) and that there are no non-Christian versions which may precede the Greek version. For a comparison and analysis between the Greek and Christianised Arabic versions of *B&I* see G. Graf, ‘Das arabische Original’ (1913): 320-31. See also B. Dorn, ‘Josaphat und Barlaam’ (1852): 305-23. The Christian Arabic version is made under the name of John of Damascus which supports those who think John of Damascus is the author of *B&I*. See J. Sonet, *Le roman de barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 61.

For an illustrated version of a Christian-Arabic version from the twelfth century see R.E. Sminè, ‘Christian Arabic Barlaam and Joasaph’ (1993): 171-229; J. Leroy, ‘Un Nouveau manuscrit’ (1955): 101-22; A. Agémian, ‘Deux manuscrits’ (1992): 577-601; H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 83.

⁹⁰ There is some similar content between this text and *B&I*. It is, however, only a cousin of the *B&I* text, sharing the same parent text, that is the *Balvariani*. See the stemma below.

⁹¹ Such as K.S. Kekelidze, ‘The Balavar romance in Christian literature’ (1960): 41-71; J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896): xxxii; E. Kuhn, ‘Barlaam und Joasaph’ (1893): 34.

⁹² This coincidentally agrees with the dating of the Syriac manuscript of the *Apology*.

⁹³ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 18.

Whether the Syriac was the intermediate text between the Pahlavi and Greek, the fact remains that while such a notion is plausible, there exists no such text in the Syriac.⁹⁴ Therefore, it is possible that an intermediary Pahlavi version⁹⁵ links the Manichaean and Arabic versions of *B&I*.

b) Pahlavi and Arabic

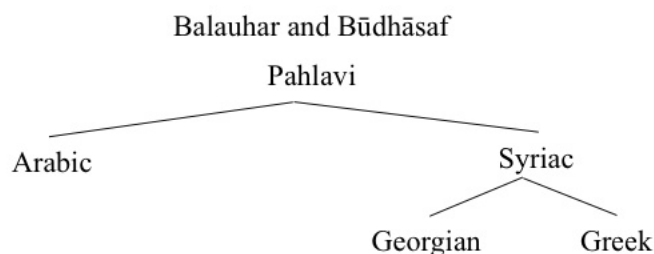
Due to the hypothetical nature of the assumed Syriac text, we are left with the question whether, if not this, it was a Pahlavi or Arabic version that built the bridge between the Manichaean version of Baghdad and the Georgian text. The problem is that the original Balauhar and Būdhāsaf (Pahlavi and Arabic) has been lost, and we rely on texts that use Balauhar and Būdhāsaf as their source.⁹⁶ The theory of the Arabic being the bridge between the Manichaean stage and the later Georgian one has gained more popular support over time, and has now become the mainstream assumption of scholars.⁹⁷ What, therefore, are these Arabic texts which may be the link between the Manichaean and Georgian stages of the transmission of the Buddha legend?

‘All these early Arabic stories of the Buddha derive from Iranian originals and purport to have been translated by Ibn al-Miqaffa’ (d. A.D. 759) or his

⁹⁴ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 40; D.M. Lang, ‘St. Euthymius’ (1955): 306; J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 61; P. Peeters, ‘La première traduction latine’ (1931): 289.

⁹⁵ This is the Iranian language during the mediaeval period. The language was around from the second century B.C., which means the translation from the original *Life of Buddha* could have occurred at any point during this time. See M. B. Pitts, ‘Legend’ (1981): 4; J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 5.

⁹⁶ See the discussion below. We must give credit to Kuhn who was the first to work out a stemma of the Arabic versions (which Lang uses, in part, for his stemma). Kuhn compares each Arabic version and the Greek *B&I*. Kuhn thinks the Syriac version stems from the Pahlavi and is the source for the Georgian and Greek versions. See E. Kuhn, ‘Barlaam und Joasaph’ (1893): 34.



⁹⁷ Such as R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 99; B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 120; K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999); J.C. Hirsh, *Barlam and Iosaphat* (1986); D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xix; I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 21; M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur* (1955).

successors. The original book of Balauhar and Būdhāsaf⁹⁸ has not come down to us, nor has a metrical version made by Abān al-Lāhiqī (d. A.D. 815-6),⁹⁹ a contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd who enjoyed favour and popularity though [was] accused by his enemies of heretical, if not Manichaean sympathies. However, one can get a fair impression of its contents from the abridgement preserved in the Halle manuscript, from the adaptation by Ibn Bābūya, later translated into Persian, and from the free rendering into Hebrew by Ibn Chisdai (d. about 1220 A.D.).¹⁰⁰ The work is preserved in a form yet closer to the original in the *Book of Balauhar and Būdhāsaf* printed at Bombay in A.D. 1888-9,¹⁰¹ though here it has to be disentangled from extraneous elements introduced, it would seem, from the *Kitāb al-Budd*.¹⁰²

How, therefore, are these Arabic texts related to Manichaeism? One of the Manichaean fragments and one of the Arabic adaptations of the Buddhist work contain the anecdote of the prince becoming intoxicated and falling into a grave with a female corpse.¹⁰³ This

⁹⁸ The fragment corresponds with the Bombay version of the text. This fragment discusses Bilauhar's separation from Budisaf and his return the next night. For a comparison of the fragment as well as the Bombay version (with an English translation) see W.B. Henning, 'Persian Manuscripts' (1962): 89-104. For a summary of its contents see R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 99; D. M. Lang, 'Oriental Materials' (1971): 113-4; W.B. Henning, 'Gedichthandschrift' (1957): 305-7.

For a comparison between the different Arabic version as well as the Greek, Georgian and original Buddhist version see T. Bräm, 'Le Roman' (1994): 71-2; D. Gimaret, *Le Livre de Bilawhar wa Būdāsaf* (1971): 9-54; D. Gimaret, 'Traces et parallèles' (1971): 98-131 E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): xciii-xcvii; E. Kuhn, 'Barlaam und Joasaph' (1893): 34-7. Although Gimaret discusses the different Arabic versions in depth, he does not produce a stemma of the Arabic versions. Here we must rely on Kuhn.

⁹⁹ See O.R. Imper and J.E. Keller, 'Introducción' (1979): xviii; I.V. Abuladze, 'Introduction' (1966): 32.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Chisdai was born in the second half of the twelfth century and died around 1220. E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): xcvi. See E. Kuhn, 'Barlaam und Joasaph' (1893): 40-5; E. Rehatsek and T.W. Rhys Davids, 'King's Son and the Ascetic' (1890): 120 believes that the Hebrew was translated from the Pahlavi original, and is independent of the Greek *B&I*. Zotenberg ('Notice' [1887]) however, believes this version to be based on the Arabic poem.

¹⁰¹ The Halle version (*Kitāb al-Budd* discovered by Hommel) appears to have not been tampered by any Christian scribe or editor 'and it therefore enables us to obtain a very clear idea of the general character of its Pahlavi original'. E. A. W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): xciv. See also P. Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (1987): 403; D. Gimaret, *Le Livre de Bilawhar wa Būdāsaf* (1971); D.M. Lang, 'Blessed Iodasaph' (1957): 194-8.

The Arabic 'tale is embellished with a series of fables, though none of these correspond to those included in the *B&I* romance. Therefore *Kitāb al-Budd* is seen to be an independent offshoot of the Buddha-elect, transplanted from its Indian background into an Iranian context.' See D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 34.

¹⁰² D.M. Lang, 'Blessed Iodasaph' (1957): 390. See also P. Almond, 'The Buddha of Christendom' (1987): 403; E. Kuhn, 'Barlaam und Joasaph' (1893); E. Rehatsek and T.W. Rhys Davids, 'King's Son and the Ascetic' (1890): 119-55.

¹⁰³ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 28.

of course does not appear in later Christianised versions of the work, showing some relationship between the Arabic and Manichaean fragment.¹⁰⁴ There is also a reworking of character names between the Sanskrit, Manichaean, and Arabic versions: for example the Buddha is called *Bodhisav*, a term that reflects the Sanskrit *Bodhisattva* and foreshadows the Arabic *Būdāsaf*.¹⁰⁵ Further, the Arabic texts show little influence of Islam: the legend was only circulated in groups on the edges of Islamic orthodoxy, with Yudasaf (Ioasaph) on a list of false prophets, along with Zoroaster, Mani and Marcion, to name a few. The failure of the legend to penetrate the Islamic world is consistent with the Arabic version of the Buddha legend making its way through Manichaeism.¹⁰⁶ Beyond this there is scepticism, especially because there must be some Christianised twist to the Manichaean text; however, because only two fragments remain we cannot prove conclusively the movement of the Buddhist text into Pahlavi through the Manichaean text.¹⁰⁷

Where the evidence linking the Manichaean version to either the Pahlavi or Arabic versions of the Buddhist novel seems questionable, scholars such as Lang¹⁰⁸ believe that similarities between the two surviving Arabic recensions, the *Book of Buddha* and the *Book of Budhasaf by himself*, indicate a connection between the Arabic tradition and the Georgian *Balavariani*. These similarities comprise ‘the forms of proper names,¹⁰⁹ the sequence in which the fables are arranged, the order of the narrative episodes, and the concordance of sections of the text’.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 32 explains how, according to orthodox Arabic sources, there was ‘an upsurge not only of Iranian cultural influences generally, but of Manichaean propaganda in particular’. This, according to Lang, is how the Manichaean aspect entered the textual tradition. We also know that trade flourished between Iran and China: the Buddhist work could have made its way into Iran through these trade links. See E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): lxxxiv. See also D. Gimaret, ‘Traces et parallèles’ (1971): 97-8.

¹⁰⁵ P. Almond, ‘The Buddha of Christendom’ (1987): 405. It is also possible to identify *Chinak*, the Buddha’s charioteer, as *Chandaka*, as well as *Satudan*, the Buddha’s father, as *Suddhodana*. C. Cordoni (*Barlaam und Josaphat* [2014]: 41) lists how the names in *Kitāb al-Budd* have been correctly translated to the names in the *Balavariani* and *B&I*, stating that the *Balavariani* parent must be originally in Arabic.

¹⁰⁶ P. Almond, ‘The Buddha of Christendom’ (1987): 404.

¹⁰⁷ See D. Gimaret, ‘Traces et parallèles’ (1971): 98

¹⁰⁸ D.M. Lang ‘Introduction’ (1967): xix. See also R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 98-109; D. Gimaret, ‘Traces et parallèles’ (1971): 98; I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 36-8.

¹⁰⁹ See I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 36-8.

¹¹⁰ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 32. See also K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 18-19; I.V. Abuladze, *Balvarianis* (1957): 81, 139 for similar illustrations of Arabic peculiarities in the Georgian text. All of this information is gleamed from the other Arabic versions that we possess.

The question remains: When did these once Buddhist elements turn into Christian ideas? We know the Arabic versions of *B&I* have not been Christianised, as they remain free from all Christian dogma.¹¹¹ More to the point, they do not contain the *Apology*. Furthermore, Ilia Abuladze asks why, if an older Arabic Christianised version existed (that is the original *Book of Balauhar and Būdhāsaf*), ‘Arabic-speaking Christians’ would have felt the need later ‘to translate the story from the Greek version’, and not simply used the existing one, unless, of course, this one was not available to them. The later Christianised (Arabic) version¹¹² seems to be ‘markedly inferior from the literary viewpoint even to the Arabic non-Christian version ... and also to the Georgian full-length redaction, which in one fashion or another proceeds from an Arabic source’.¹¹³ These arguments lead us to conclude that, based on the evidence we have, the ‘intermediate’ text probably has its origin in a non-Christianised Arabic form.¹¹⁴ In that case, what role does the Georgian version play in the transmission of the Buddhist novel?

3) Georgian and Greek

a) Georgian

Before the *Balavariani* was known to us, Marr and Rosen suspected that one of the missing texts in the transposition of the *Life of Buddha* to the Greek *B&I* existed in a Georgian text. This is because, within two Greek *lemmata*¹¹⁵ of *B&I*, it is stated that *B&I* had been translated from ‘the Iberian or Georgian tongue into the Greek through the agency of Euthymius the Georgian’.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, George the Hagorite specifically states that Euthymius translated the Georgian *Balavariani* as well as many

¹¹¹ K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 18-9; E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): xcv.

¹¹² From the twelfth century.

¹¹³ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 36. P.B. de la Pena, *Barlaam Y Josafat* (1993): xvii-xx also thinks this to be true.

¹¹⁴ See H. Peri, *Religionsdisput der Barlaam-Legende* (1959): 15.

¹¹⁵ Venedig, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. grec. VII, 26 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec. 1771. The theory that Euthymius was the author and translator of *B&I* was first put forward by Baron Rosen (1887): 166-74. Manuscript evidence, along with the information contained within George the Hagorite’s *Life of Euthymius*, suggest that Euthymius translated the *Balavariani*. See P. Peeters, ‘Histoires monastiques géorgiennes’, (1917-1919): 15; E. Kuhn, ‘Barlaam und Joasaph’ (1893): 9. See also N.Y. Marr, ‘Agiograficheskie’ (1900-1): 89-103 who discusses the Georgian version.

¹¹⁶ D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxviii.

other works.¹¹⁷ If Euthymius translated a metaphrastic version of the *Balavariani* then this could be the last textual transmission of the Buddhist text into our Greek *B&I* novel.¹¹⁸ Marr and Rosen embarked upon the journey of trying to locate a *Balavariani* manuscript. In 1889 Rosen discovered and published excerpts of *The Wisdom of Balahvar*,¹¹⁹ which we now know to be a shorter recension of the *Balavariani* parent. The text of *The Wisdom of Balahvar* bears little similarity to the Greek *B&I* text, and no similarity to the previous Arabic texts we have. Hence, at the turn of the twentieth century, the idea that the Syriac was the intermediate text between the Arabic and the Greek was still considered the most plausible.¹²⁰ Over the next few decades numerous manuscript copies (dating to as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth century) similar to *The Wisdom of Balahvar* were discovered in Georgia.

In 1902, Nicholas Marr discovered a *Balavariani* text (Jerusalem 36) in a manuscript dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It was not until 1925-26 that Robert Blake discovered a text now known as Jerusalem 140. This text is vastly important in piecing together the textual tradition of our Greek *B&I*.

The codex of Jerusalem 140 is a completely separate redaction from *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, not only in length,¹²¹ but also in time period: copied between 1060 and 1070 A.D..¹²² As the Latin version of our Greek novel of *B&I* was a translation from Greek made in 1048 A.D., a Greek version must already have been in existence at that time, hence an antecedent to our oldest Greek manuscript.¹²³

¹¹⁷ See D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends* (1957): 155.

¹¹⁸ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 116.

¹¹⁹ B.V. Rosen, 'Babweihe i Varlaame' (1889): 397-400.

¹²⁰ See E. Kuhn, 'Barlaam und Joasaph' (1893): 11. Krumbacher believed the Armenian version of *B&I* derived from the Syriac version, which had in turn been translated from a Greek version. He believed the Greek version which we now have has been amplified and reworked. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897): 886-91. Jacobs believed the Georgian was made from the Arabic, and the Greek from the Syriac. J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896): 31. For an analysis of the language and terminology used in the two Georgian versions see M. Tarchnišvili, 'Les Deux Recensions' (1958): 73-86.

¹²¹ As it is two and a half times longer than *The Wisdom of Balahvar*.

¹²² D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' (1967): xxv; D.M. Lang, 'St. Euthymius' (1955): 307.

¹²³ I.V. Abuladze, 'Introduction' (1966): 21. We will discuss this in further detail below.

Georgian text specialists¹²⁴ compared the Arabic, two Georgian and the Greek versions of the *B&I* text, and discovered that the text of Jerusalem 140, as well as the Greek witnesses to the *B&I*, retain ‘Arabic elements in [their] subject matter’.¹²⁵ Abuladze went on to say that the Greek version of *B&I* reproduces the conclusion of the *Balavariani* and shows ‘a resemblance between the forms of the proper names’.¹²⁶ He concluded that there was only one logical explanation for this, that the Greek version of *B&I* was unequivocally based upon the ‘newly discovered, full-length version’,¹²⁷ Jerusalem 140, of the *Balavariani*.

Further arguments¹²⁸ have since been suggested, based on small linguistic changes in names, as well as the arrangement of the novel, and certain elements that appear in the *Balavariani* and *B&I* versions, but not in *The Wisdom of Balahvar*.¹²⁹ The stemma of the textual tradition, as elaborated by Lang, looks as follows:¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Such as Lang, Abuladze and Kekelidze. All of Kekelidze’s work, and most of Abuladze’s work remains in Georgian. For a French summary of the theories of Kekelidze see M. Brière ‘Lettres georgiennes chretiennes’ (1957): 75-98. See also P. Devos, ‘Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec’ (1957): 98; J. Sonet, *Le roman de barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 61; P. Peeters, ‘La première traduction latine’ (1931): 307.

¹²⁵ For a comparison between the Bombay Arabic as well as Jerusalem 140 see D.M. Lang, ‘Blessed Iodasaph’ (1957): 394-8. R. Volk compares Jerusalem 140 with Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būdāsf: R. Volk, ‘Medizinisches im Barlaam-Roman’ (2006): 188-9. Further comparisons between the Greek, *Balavariani*, Arabic (Bombay version), Ibn Bābūya and Halle Arabic see D.M. Lang, ‘Blessed Iodasaph’ (1957): 398-403. Manichaean prophetology is still apparent in the Bombay Arabic version. See W.B. Henning, ‘Persian Manuscripts’ (1962): 93.

¹²⁶ For a comparison of names in the Sanskrit, Arabic, Georgian and Greek translations see E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 207-16; W.B. Henning, ‘Gedichthandschrift’ (1957): 306; D.M. Lang, ‘Blessed Iodasaph’ (1957): 399; E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): lxxxviii; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897): 886.

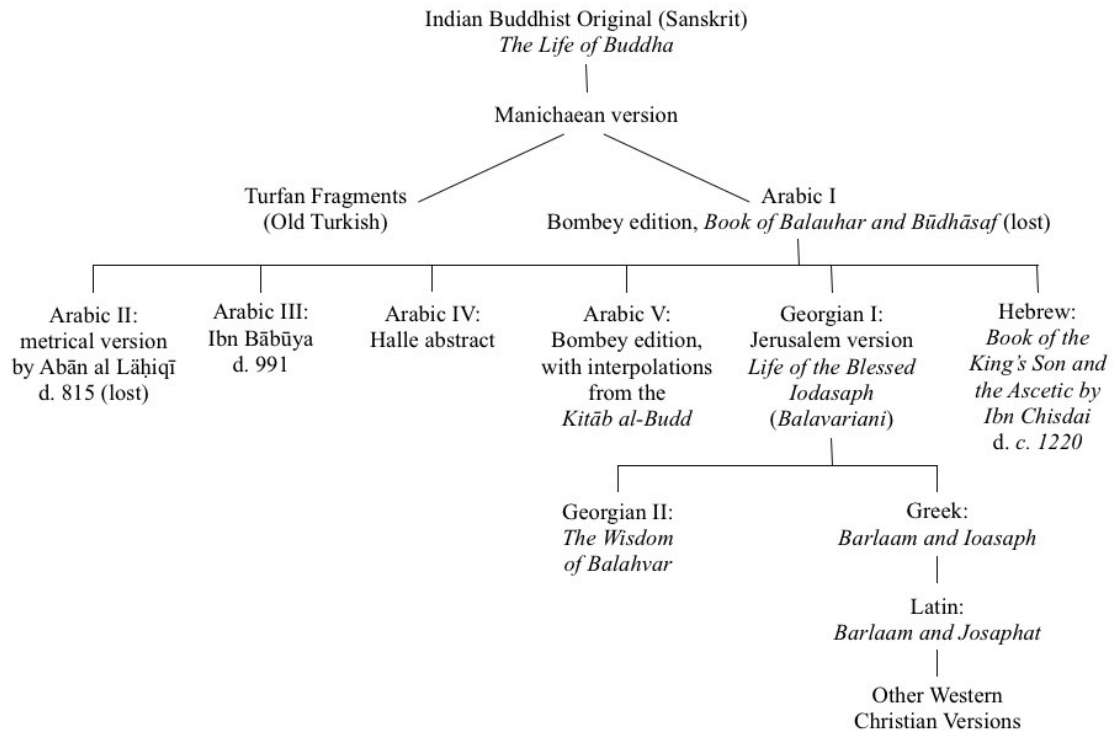
¹²⁷ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 30.

¹²⁸ See D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxv; I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 37-8. See also P. Almond, ‘The Buddha of Christendom’ (1987): 396-400; D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 12-3.

¹²⁹ See I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 23.

¹³⁰ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balahvar* (1957): 65.

Textual Traditions of *Barlaam and Josaphat*



Since 1957, when Lang produced this stemma, there has been no scholar which has questioned it, accepting it to be true.¹³¹ Prior to Lang, there were some scholars who suggest a Syriac ‘intermediate’ recension as more probable than an Arabic one.¹³² These scholars, such as Franz Dölger, consider the Syriac recension to be more likely due to their assignment of authorship of the Greek *B&I* to John of Damascus, as well as other arguments outlined above. When Dölger published his book in 1953, the *Balavariani* was known, but no copy of the Jerusalem 140 manuscript was made accessible until 1956.¹³³ This meant that Dölger was promoting a theory¹³⁴ that now seems redundant, when one compares the evidence for the Syriac ‘intermediate’ text with that for the Arabic ‘intermediate’ and Georgian recensions. Such arguments will be further expounded when we discuss the attribution of authorship of the Greek *B&I* text.

¹³¹ For example E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 238-69; M. Tarchnišvili, ‘Le roman de Balahvar’ (1958): 84-5; M. Tarchnišvili, ‘Les Deux Recensions’ (1958): 75. Although Khintibidze does not mention the Manichaean tradition, not one scholar has spoken against Lang’s stemma. More recently Cordoni has reproduced Lang’s stemma and expanded it to include the more influential Latin and Provincial versions. See C. Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat* (2014): 55.

¹³² J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896); R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894); E. Hennecke, ‘Rezension und Rekonstruktion’ (1893); E. Kuhn, ‘Barlaam und Joasaph’ (1893): 9. These scholars, who all support a Syriac recension, wrote before the discovery of the Jerusalem 140 manuscript.

¹³³ I.V. Abuladze, *Balvarianis* (1956).

¹³⁴ See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 25-6. It would be interesting to see how Dölger would have dealt with this new information and whether this evidence would have changed the scholar’s mind.

As previously mentioned, the Georgian forms of names and the narrative content of the *Balavariani* preserved in Jerusalem 140 support its reliance on an older Arabic recension.¹³⁵ As this Arabic source is presumed to have been a non-Christian recension of the Buddhist text, the Georgian Jerusalem 140 is our oldest surviving Christianised version. This Christian Georgian recension, however, does not include the *Apology*.

b) Greek

The Greek text of *B&I* stems from the Jerusalem 140 manuscript of the *Balavariani*, and it was this Jerusalem 140 version of the Georgian text that was ‘the *keimenon*, that is, the “original”, unembellished version, from which the Greek metaphrastic, i.e. stylized and ornate, adaption derives’.¹³⁶ There are ‘stylistic and linguistic peculiarities’¹³⁷ in the Greek text,¹³⁸ which can be traced back to a Georgian prototype. The Jerusalem 140 version of the *Balavariani* is this Georgian prototype because of the similarities it shares with *B&I*, chief among them the narrative¹³⁹ and audience. There are, however, also some differences between the Greek *B&I* and Jerusalem 140. Most importantly for our discussion, the Greek text of *B&I* includes the *Apology*, whereas the Georgian text of Jerusalem 140 does not, nor do any of its predecessors. Furthermore, the Greek text of *B&I* adds a number of scriptural references, creeds and prayers,¹⁴⁰ as well as quotations from a variety of religious¹⁴¹ and

¹³⁵ For a discussion on the Georgians’ adoption of the Christian faith; language; monasteries and trade links to Eastern nations see D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxii-iv; M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur* (1955): 22-36.

¹³⁶ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 38.

¹³⁷ See S.G. Qaukhchishvili, *Bizantiuri literaturis istoria* (1963): 206-37 (taken from D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ [1967]: xxx).

¹³⁸ Scholars do not state which Greek manuscript they are using. We will see there are a number of different manuscripts which could lead to different conclusions depending on which modification of manuscript scholars are using.

¹³⁹ See appendix 1.

¹⁴⁰ K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 21.

¹⁴¹ ‘Among the works from which the author of the Greek Barlaam borrowed passages is the Passion of St. Catherine, in the tenth century version of Simeon the Metaphrast.’ R.L. Wolff, ‘Barlaam and Ioasaph’ (1939): 132. This theorem has never been proven. If true, it shows us that if John of Damascus was the author of *B&I* there was also a later redaction. See P. Peeters, ‘La première traduction latine’ (1931): 292; J.R. Harris, ‘The Sources of Barlaam’ (1925): 119-29; J.A. Robinson, ‘Passion of St. Catherine’ (1923-4): 246-53; J.R. Harris ‘A New Christian Apology’ (1923): 355-83. Dölger suggested that John of Damascus had a lost *Passion of St. Catherine* which is like Symeon’s text: Symeon, however, copied John of Damascus. Dölger is clutching at straws in trying to establish John of Damascus as author. See F. Dölger, ‘Die Johannes-Damaskenos-Ausgabe’ (1950): 310. Volk has recently proven it was Symeon Metaphrastes’ version of the *Passion of St. Catherine* which was used in *B&I*. See R. Volk, ‘Symeon Metaphrastes’ (1996): 88-111.

philosophical sources, including ‘ecclesiastical writers, especially from the works of St. John Damascene’.¹⁴² Additionally, the Georgian *Balavariani* contains no miracles or signs. The Greek translator or redactor of the Georgian text has not just added these different ideas, but has also taken out sections that are in the Jerusalem 140 version but not in the Greek *B&I*; for instance, the Georgian version contains more fables than the Greek version.¹⁴³ Yet while the content of the Greek version of *B&I* differs from the Georgian version in Jerusalem 140, the literary outline of the two texts remains similar. Some of the differences might have been caused not by the translator of the text from the Georgian into the Greek, but by a contemporary of his,¹⁴⁴ a redactor of the freshly translated Greek metaphrastic version of the text from the Georgian version of Jerusalem 140. No such metaphrastic version is known to us, and it remains hypothetical. If it did exist and there was a redactor, it is possible that it was the redactor who further expanded the Greek text with a variety of ideas, as stated above, which were not in the *Balavariani*, among them the *Apology*.

The modern consensus is that the Greek version of *B&I* stems from the Jerusalem 140 version of the *Balavariani*.¹⁴⁵ It is believed that Euthymius translated a metaphrastic version from Georgian into Greek, and this may have been redacted by either George the Hagorite or Symeon Metaphrastes.¹⁴⁶ Some, such as Dölger, attack this assumption as well as the historical data.¹⁴⁷ Several specialists of Georgian literature¹⁴⁸ have since exposed Dölger’s ‘contradictory and tendentious mode of argument, and his lack of knowledge about the problems of Georgian literature, which

¹⁴² I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 41. There are a whole host of ecclesiastical writers used by the redactor of *B&I*. We will discuss some of these in chapter 2.e of this study. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006) for a full list of external authors used in *B&I*.

¹⁴³ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 40. See also Lang, *Wisdom of Balahvar* (1957): 46-7 for some of the less prominent differences between the Georgian *Balavariani* and Greek *B&I*.

¹⁴⁴ See the discussion (1.A.iii) on the attribution of *B&I* to Euthymius. It is suggested that either George the Hagorite or Symeon Metaphrastes redacted *B&I* after Euthymius translated the *Balavariani*.

¹⁴⁵ See P. Devos, ‘Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec’ (1957): 83-104.

¹⁴⁶ To name but a few key scholars: R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 2; B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 114; E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 269; V. Tiftixoglu, ‘Der byzantinische Barlaam-Roman’ (1980): 197; D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxvi-xxxii; I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 30; P. Devos, ‘Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec’ (1957): 83-104; M. Tarchnišvili, ‘Anfänge’ (1954): 113-24; F. Halkin, ‘Reseñ al libro de Dölger’ (1953): 475-80; R.L. Wolf, ‘Barlaam and Ioasaph’ (1939): 131-9; P. Peeters, ‘Histoires monastiques géorgiennes’ (1917-1919): 11-2.

¹⁴⁷ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 25. See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953).

¹⁴⁸ Such as F. Halkin, M. Tarchnišvili, S. Nutsubidze and D.M. Lang.

can be traced back to Zotenberg'.¹⁴⁹ Few scholars have upheld Dölger's conclusions, notable among them Gérard Garitte.¹⁵⁰ This discussion will be continued below when we discuss the attribution of authorship of the Greek *B&I*.

Before moving on to the authorship of the Greek *B&I* we must first discuss the importance of the Greek text we have. The content of this Greek text is much more extensive than that of its Georgian predecessor owing to the inclusion of the *Apology*, as well as scriptural references, creeds, prayers, and quotations from religious and philosophical sources, including our early church fathers. The Greek *B&I*, as it is preserved today, was brought to Constantinople in the eleventh century and translated into Latin. This made it possible for the novel to be translated into numerous other European languages.¹⁵¹ Thus the Greek text of *B&I* can be described as the most important version, as it enabled the novel to be known throughout Europe.

The Greek paraphrased version, that is the *Apology* as it appears in *B&I*, has around 160 manuscripts, although some of these manuscripts are no more than a few folios. In recent years, Robert Volk has compiled two volumes on the Greek manuscript tradition of *B&I*.¹⁵² These volumes are what Pouderon and Pierre have used in compiling the critical edition of the *Apology*.¹⁵³ Due to the quantity of manuscripts, Volk assigns some of the more important a letter: A-Z. He classifies the manuscripts within six categories:

¹⁴⁹ I.V. Abuladze, 'Introduction' (1966): 25. See E. Khintibidze (Chintibidse), 'Ekwtine Atoneli' (1977): 30-4; H. Zotenberg, 'Notice' (1887): 1-166.

¹⁵⁰ G. Garitte 'Georges l'Hagorites' (1958): 57-63; G. Garitte, 'La littérature Géorgienne' (1957): 431-7. See also B. Kotter, 'Johannes von Damaskus' (1988): 127-32; B. Hammerdinger, 'Saint Jean Damascène' (1971): 35; K. Wessel, 'Barlaam und Joasaph' (1966): 496-507; H. Musurillo, 'Greek Patristics' (1954): 575. Wessel claims that Dölger's thesis has 'yet not undergone any challenges'. Contemporaries such as L. Abramowski 'Der griechische Barlaam-Roman' (1958): 145-7; P. Devos, 'Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec' (1957): 83-104; S. Nutsubidze, 'K'art'uli literaturisa da kulturis' (1956): 144-54; D.M. Lang, 'St. Euthymius' (1955): 306-25; M. Tarchnišvili, 'Anfänge' (1954): 113-24; F. Halkin, 'Reseñ al libro de Dölger' (1953): 475-80 all challenged Dölger's thesis.

¹⁵¹ J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 119-260; J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896): lxxxix both list and discuss these European versions. Jacobs notes of at least sixty separate translations, many of which have undergone a number of redactions. The Greek version of *B&I* is also translated into a Christian Arabic recension as well as an Armenian and Ethiopic version. See J.C. Hirsh, *Barlam and Iosaphat* (1986): xix; J. Leroy, 'Un Nouveau manuscrit' (1955): 101-22; E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923); A. Agémian, 'Deux manuscrits arabes' (1892): 577-601; H. Zotenberg, 'Notice' (1887): 83.

¹⁵² See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Iosaphat* (2006) and (2009). See also R. Volk, 'Urtext und Modifikationen' (1993-4): 442-61.

¹⁵³ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 123-36. Even though the *Apologie* critical edition was published three years before the critical version of *B&I* the French scholars had access to Volk's work before he published it. T. Bräm, 'Le Roman' (1994): 74-6 agrees with Volk's modifications. No scholars have thus far questioned Volk's work.

- 1) 'Urtext'
- 2) Modification A
- 3) Modification B
- 4) 'Contaminated' Texts
- 5) Modification C
- 6) Modification D¹⁵⁴

When Volk compiled his critical edition of *B&I* he used only the manuscripts to which he had assigned a letter. The following letters are used in chapter 27, the *Apology* chapter:

Volk places four manuscripts within the Urtext: A, B, C and D. Of these, only A = Athos, Μονή Ἰβήρων 462, fol. 1^r – 260^v, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 19);¹⁵⁵ B = Kiev, Instytut rukopysu Nacional'noj bibliotekhy Ukraïny imeni V. I. Vernads'koho, Fond V – Odes'ke tovarystvo istorii ta starožytnostej 3692 (olim Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα), fol. 1^r – 206^v, dated to 1021 A.D.¹⁵⁶ as the manuscript was written by a monk named Theodosius (Volk, no. 57);¹⁵⁷ and C = Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα K 49 (1336), fol. 1^r – 72^v and 75^r – 284^r, dated to 1320 A.D.¹⁵⁸ (Volk, no. 29)¹⁵⁹ are referenced within the *Apology* chapter of *B&I*.

Nine texts are classified under Modification A: E, E', F, G, H, H', I, J and K. Of these E = Athos, Μονή Διονυσίου 586 B, fol. 7^r – 37^v, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 15b); F = Patmos, Μονή τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου 120, fol. 1^r – 223^v and 226^r – 230^r, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 117);¹⁶⁰ G = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca T.III.3 (=Cod. gr. 163; olim III.M.2 and III.Z.16; olim Esitz von Antonios Eparchos), fol. 1^r – 158^v, dated to 1057 because the manuscript is ascribed to a

¹⁵⁴ R. Volk, 'Urtext und Modifikationen' (1993-4): 451-6

¹⁵⁵ This is given the letter I by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 254.

¹⁵⁶ See B.L. Fonkič, 'Un "Barlam et Joasaph" grec' (1973): 13-20 for a discussion on this dating.

¹⁵⁷ This is given the letter K by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 254.

¹⁵⁸ Even though Dölger's information is the same as Volk's, Dölger (*Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 5) gives this manuscript a date of 1538 A.D.. We know the date to be 1320 as on folio 283^v there is a note which gives an anonymous monk named Bonifatios as its owner with a date: December 1320 A.D..

¹⁵⁹ There is no reason why our French scholars have not included this manuscript, nor even mentioned it in their critical edition. We must presume it is because of its later dating, in comparison to manuscripts A and B.

¹⁶⁰ This is given the letter P by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154.

Eustathios (Volk, no. 41);¹⁶¹ H = Sofia, Naučen centăr za slavjano-vizantiksji proučvanija “akad. Ivan Dujčev” kăm Sofijski Universitet “Kliment Ochridski”, Cod. gr. 270 [a. 1926-1976] Sofia, Bălgarska Akademija na naukite III 470, olim [a. 1917-1926] ibidem B. 180 = catal. Sís mss. Kos. membr. 128 [= Kπ. 73 Katsaros], olim Kosinitza sine numero), fol. 1^r – 64^v, 72^r – 111^v, 117^r – 132^v, 139^r – 162^v and 168^r – 231^v, dated to the eleventh century¹⁶² (Volk, no. 145);¹⁶³ H' = Vatikanstadt, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. gr. 2025 (olim Basilianus seu Collegii S. Basilii de urbe 64), fol. 1^r – 181^r, dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century (Volk, no. 127);¹⁶⁴ I = Venedig, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. gr. 110 (=coll. 504; olim card. Bessarionis <144>), fol. 136^r – 288^v, dated to the eleventh or twelfth century (Volk, no. 148); J = Moskau, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Sinodal'noe (Patriarišee) sobranie rukopisej, Cod. gr. 246 (Vladimir 399; Matthaei CCXXXIII; olim Athos, Movḥ Ἰβήρων), fol. 2^r – 240^v, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 73); and K = Florenz, Biblioteca medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Conventi Soppressi 115 (olim Biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina, Cod. 2663; olim in Besitz von Antonio di tommaso Corbinelli [† 1425], Cod. 79), fol. 1^r – 72^v and 83^r – 140^v (Volk no. 45 and 46 are the missing folios), dated by Volk to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 45),¹⁶⁵ are referred to in the *Apology* chapter.

Modification B has seven manuscripts assigned to it: L, M, M', N O, O' and O''. Of these the following contain the *Apology* chapter: L = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 1771 (olim Colbert. 5227), fol. 181^v – 281^v, dated to the fourteenth century (Volk, no.112);¹⁶⁶ M = Venedig, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. gr. VII, 26 (= coll. 1431; olim Nanianus 137), fol. 1^r – 194^r, dated to either the

¹⁶¹ This is given the letter E by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154.

¹⁶² Volk suggests that this is dated to 1060. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 448-51 for a discussion on this.

¹⁶³ This is given the letter S by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154. According to Pouderon and Pierre the manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (olim Augsburg, Stadtbibliothek), Cod. gr. 496, fol. 1^r – 178^r is very similar to this text, as well as its copy H'. This is why Pouderon and Pierre assign this manuscript a letter (M). See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154. It must be noted that Volk does not assign a letter to this manuscript, but dates it to the eleventh or twelfth century.

¹⁶⁴ This is given the letter V by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154.

¹⁶⁵ This is given the letter L by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154. Volk says that this manuscript is incomplete and the text is a 'solitary character': it 'is far worse than the lost original of the Latin Vulgate translation (BHL 979)' and is the 'last in rank' of Modification A texts. R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 307.

¹⁶⁶ This is given the letter G by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154.

twelfth or thirteenth century (Volk, no. 151);¹⁶⁷ N = Oxford, Magdalen College, ms. gr. 4, fol. 1^r – 222^v and 231^r – 235^v, dated to 1063¹⁶⁸ (Volk, no. 94);¹⁶⁹ O' = Jerusalem, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Fonds τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ 42, fol. 8^r – 23^v, 25^r – 92^v, 94^r – 125^v, 127^r – 129^v, 131^r – 137^v and 139^r – 202^v, dated to the eleventh or twelfth century (Volk, no. 54);¹⁷⁰ and the other O' manuscript = Sankt Petersburg, Rossijskaja nacional'naja Biblioteka, Cod. gr. 379 (=Ganstrem Nr. 243), fol. 1^r–4^v, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 59).

The 'contaminated' texts comprise P, Q, Q', R, R', R'', S, T, U₁, U₂, U₂', V. Of these eight contain the *Apology* chapter: P = Athens Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος 330 (olim Kloster Dusiku in Thessalien), fol. 19^r – 193^v and 195^r – 200^v, dated to the end of the tenth to the beginning of the eleventh century¹⁷¹ (Volk, no. 6); Q = Athos Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 384, fol. 3^r – 183^v, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 12); R = Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria B.IV.9 (= Cod. gr. 203; olim b.III.14), fol. 1^r – 32^v, 43^r – 138^v, 140^r – 146^v and 148^r – 149^v, dated to the eleventh or twelfth century¹⁷² (Volk, no. 146); S = Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Cod. gr. 392 (454 Kamil), fol. 2^r–132^v, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 141);¹⁷³ T = Athos, Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου 288, fol. 91^r – 194^v, dated to the eleventh century¹⁷⁴ (Volk, no. 11.1); U₁ = Moskau, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Sinodal'noe (Patriarišee) sobranie rukopisej, Cod. gr. 247 (Vladimir 400; Matthaei CCXXXIV; olim Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα), fol. 1^r –

¹⁶⁷ B.L. Fonkič, 'Un "Barlam et Joasaph" grec' (1973): 13-20 thinks that the manuscript is dated to the twelfth century but the lemma is attributed to the fifteenth century. See also A. Kazhdan, 'Where, when and by whom' (1993): 1189.

¹⁶⁸ Folio 235^v notes the manuscript belongs to Deacon Leontis and was copied on 10th December 1063 A.D..

¹⁶⁹ This is given the letter O by B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129 and 154.

¹⁷⁰ It must be noted that its parent, text O = Ioannina, Ζωσιμαία Σχολή 1, 1^r – 141^v, is dated to the eleventh to twelfth century.

¹⁷¹ This is our earliest manuscript, with a possible date between 990 and 1010 A.D.. This manuscript evidence goes against Abuldaze's statement that there are no manuscripts before the eleventh century (I.V. Abuladze, 'Introduction' [1966]: 21). The language contained within the manuscript is the reason why an early date is given. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 243-4 for a discussion of the manuscript. I am not convinced by the evidence presented by Volk and still question such an early dating.

¹⁷² A copy of this text, R' (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 903 (olim Colbert. 2800), fol. 1^r – 194^v) is included by Pouderon and Pierre, given by them the letter A and placed in the Modification B category, even though it is classed as 'contaminated' by Volk. They say that despite this text, of R', being of a later date (fifteenth century) it belongs to Modification B, however it has been 'contaminated'. Pouderon has included this manuscript because it served as the basis for Boissonade's first edition (B. Pouderon and M.-J.Pierre, *Apologie* [2003]: 129).

¹⁷³ See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 440 for an interesting title to chapter 27 of *B&I*.

¹⁷⁴ This is because there is a note from the owner made in the eleventh to twelfth century.

120^v, 129^r – 152^v, 161^r – 186^v and 203^r – 231^v, dated to the tenth or eleventh century¹⁷⁵ (Volk, no. 74); U₂' = Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα Λ 188 (1679), fol. 8^r – 113^v and 116^r – 185^v, dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century (Volk, no. 31);¹⁷⁶ and V = Athos, Μονὴ Κουτλουμουσίου 5, fol. 60^r-244^v, dated to the middle of the eleventh century (Volk, no. 26).

Modification C texts are W₁, W₂, and Kech (edition by S. Kechagioglu [Athens, 1884])¹⁷⁷ and all feature the *Apology*. The manuscripts themselves are as follows: W₁ = Athos, Σκήτη Καυσοκαλυβίων 52 (olim 9), fol. 1^r – 243^v, dated to the fourteenth century (Volk, no. 25); W₂ = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 1128, fol. 1^r – 39^v and 40^v – 202^v, dated to the fourteenth century (Volk, no.105); and Kechagioglu edition.

Modification D texts are X, Y and Z, all of which feature the *Apology*. The manuscripts are as follows: X = Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Cod. gr. 524 (747 Kamil), fol. 135^r – 195^v, dated to the eleventh or twelfth century¹⁷⁸ (Volk, no. 142); Y = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Baroccianus gr. 21, fol. 2^r – 159^r, dated to the twelfth century (Volk, no. 84); and Z = El Escorial, Real Biblioteca T.III.6 (=Cod. gr. 166; olim III.M.3 and IV.A.2' olim Bibliothek des Matteo Dandolo, Nr. 103), fol. 1^r – 115^v, dated to the eleventh century (Volk, no. 42).¹⁷⁹

The differences between Volk's six categories are as follows: The Urtext category is so-called because Volk suspects that these manuscripts contain the fewest corruptions. They are the closest we have to what we can call an 'Archetypal' form, although the Urtext itself is not the 'Archetype'.¹⁸⁰ The corruptions between each manuscript within the Urtext category are limited to single words of the text.

¹⁷⁵ In folio 231^v, the owner notes his name as the Metropolitan from Philippopol who found a manuscript from the Athos Monastery Μεγίστη Λαύρα. In 1775 the codex went to Moscow.

¹⁷⁶ It is possible however that this may originate in the early fourteenth century. It is noted that U₂' is a copy of U₂, with the exception of chapter 27, the *Apology* chapter, so is not therefore a direct dependent. Volk does not go on to say which manuscript U₂' relies on for the *Apology* chapter. (See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* [2009]: 279-80).

¹⁷⁷ I cannot locate this edition in any public libraries, it must therefore be held in a private library.

¹⁷⁸ Volk says that manuscript X offers a 'more complete text' than the original: manuscript Z (See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* [2009]: 442-3).

¹⁷⁹ Volk has made a mistake in his stemma. The earliest text in Modification D dates from the fourteenth century whereas in his description it is from the eleventh century. Modification C in the stemma has the earliest text in the eleventh century whereas in his description of the manuscripts the earliest manuscript is the fourteenth century. Therefore, Modification C should be labelled Modification D and vice versa.

¹⁸⁰ See R. Volk, 'Urtext und Modifikationen' (1993-4): 452.

Modification A texts show small changes, in the form of redactions of various kinds. Usually, however, manuscripts within this category make ‘ambiguous statements by incorrect reference’, or ‘content comprehension difficulties have arisen’.¹⁸¹ The modifications in this group of manuscripts are deemed to have no significant impact on the reading of the text.¹⁸²

Modification B manuscripts borrow from those manuscripts categorised as Urtext or Modification A. According to Pouderon and Pierre, the manuscripts in Modification group B show ‘an obvious effort to improve the text, often badly’.¹⁸³

The ‘contaminated’ category is so-called because the manuscripts within it ‘oscillate’ between Modifications A and B as well as Urtext.¹⁸⁴

Modification C manuscripts are seen as shortened versions of manuscripts from Modification B, often skipping theological discussions and shortening extensive phrases as well as the Apologues.¹⁸⁵

Modification D is a later group of manuscripts, the earliest dating from the fourteenth century. According to Volk, their textual tradition is unclear, mainly because there is no older tradition to compare it to. It is believed to be a combination of the Urtext¹⁸⁶ as well as Modifications A and B. Modification group D, however, is ‘adjusted for and provided with some modern group additions’;¹⁸⁷ that is, the language has been updated to fit the time the manuscripts were written.

It should be noted that Volk’s stemma is much longer than the one provided by Pouderon and Pierre (see below), and is available in Volume 1 of his work as a pull out

¹⁸¹ R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ (1993-4): 452. Volk’s edition of *B&I* (as well as the *Apology*) is more ‘complete’ because refers to all the manuscripts available. Previous scholars who have provided a critical edition of the *Apology* have all used different manuscripts. This has provided us with significant differences between other *Apology* critical editions. See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003); C. Alpigiano, *Aristide di Atene* (1988); J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907); E. Hennecke, ‘Rezension und Rekonstruktion’ (1893).

¹⁸² See R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ (1993-4): 452.

¹⁸³ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 129. See also R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ (1993-4): 453 for a description of some of these improvements the manuscripts of Modification B have tried to make.

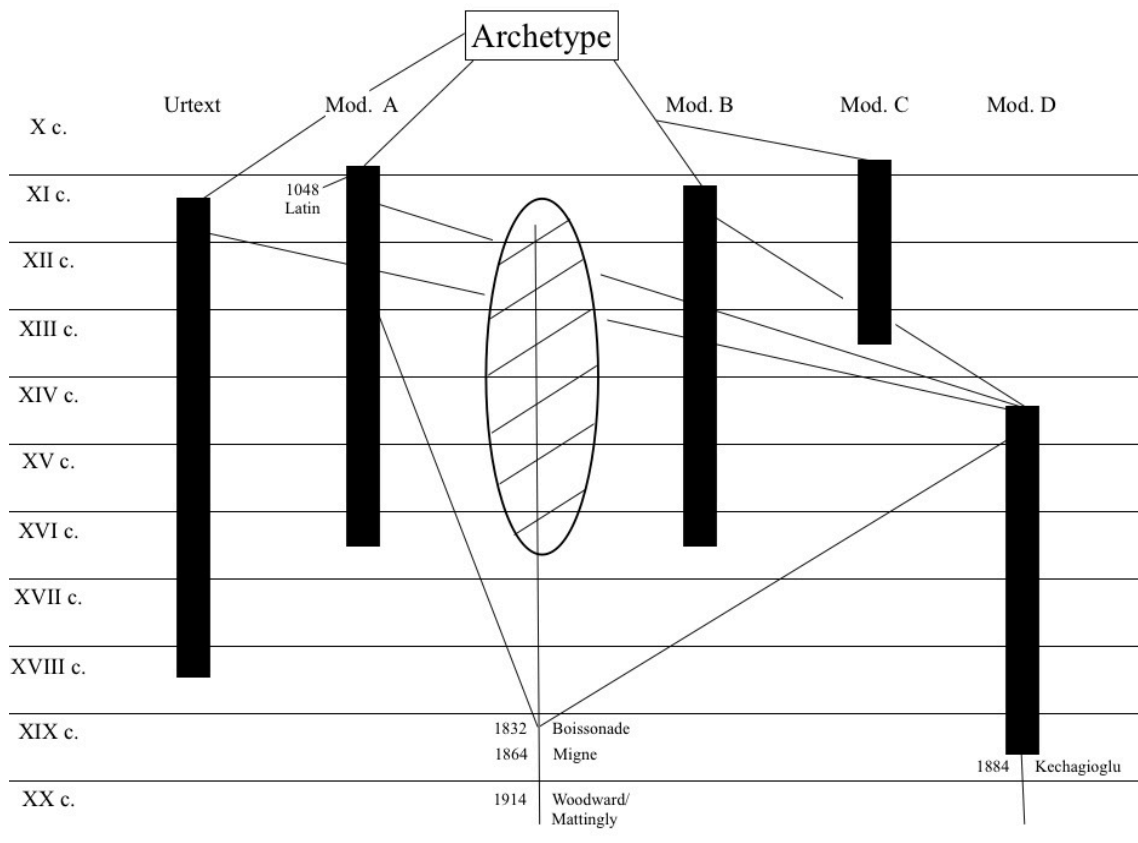
¹⁸⁴ See R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ (1993-4): 453-4.

¹⁸⁵ See R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ (1993-4): 454-5.

¹⁸⁶ This is the result of a ‘Homoiooteleuton’ (R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ [1993-4]: 455).

¹⁸⁷ R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ (1993-4): 455.

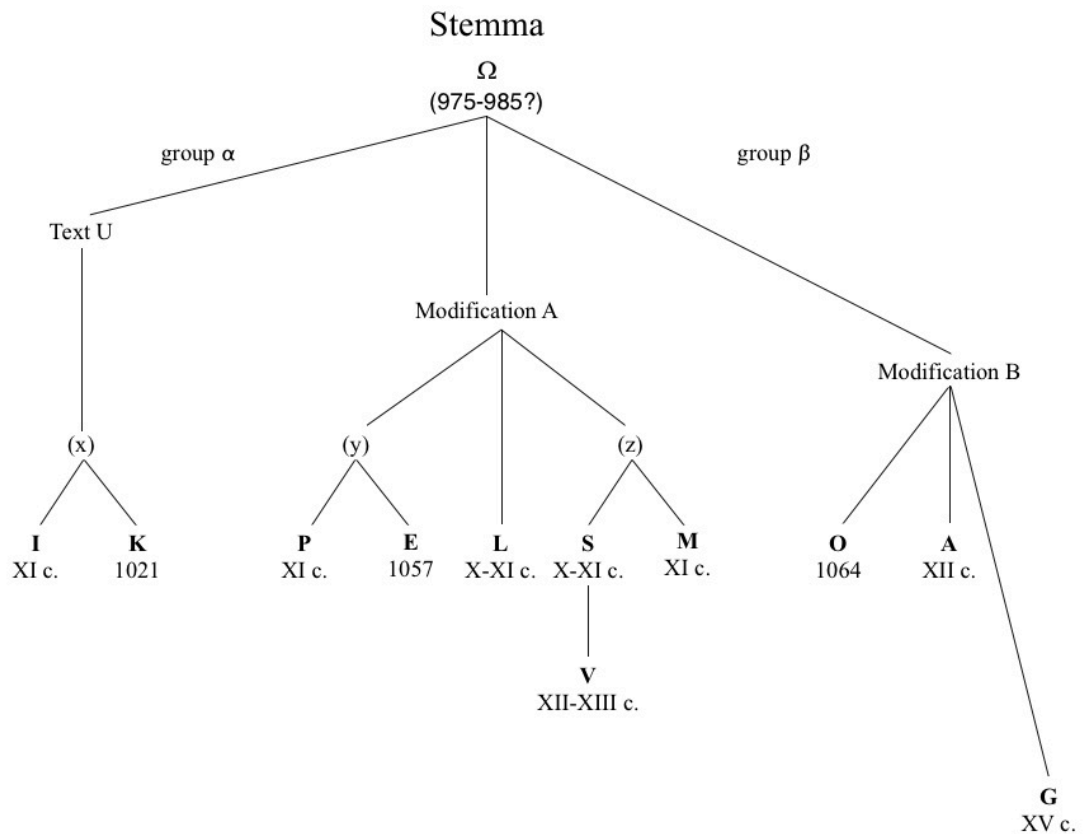
sheet. Volk however provides us with a shorter version of the stemma, which looks like this:¹⁸⁸



In the critical edition provided by Pouderon and Pierre, only the Urtext and Modifications A and B are taken into account. As has been noted, the French scholars attribute to the manuscripts letters corresponding to those used by Volk, so that the stemma looks like this:¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ I have not included all the details from Volk's stemma, which is taken from R. Volk, 'Urtext und Modifikation' (1993-4): 457, because there are some details which are irrelevant to our study here, such as where the Russian or French versions of *B&I* stem from.

¹⁸⁹ Taken from B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 136.



c) Text comparison

As we have discussed, there are both similarities and differences between the Georgian and Greek versions of the *B&I* text. The most important difference for our study of the *Apology of Aristides* is that, for the first time in the history of reception and transmission of *B&I*, the *Apology* has been added into the Greek version. To find out the reasons for this insertion, we need to look in more detail at the differences and similarities between *B&I* and its parent text, the *Balavariani*. Some of the larger differences will be outlined below; however, the table in appendix 1 presents a side-by-side comparison between the two texts, enabling us to look more closely into the content used in *B&I*, as well as the context of the *Apology*.

A key difference between *B&I* and the *Balavariani* is the number of biblical references littered throughout the opening paragraphs of the Greek version. The Greek has an introduction to the text, which contains a quote from Gregory Nazianzenus, *In*

laudem Athanasii (Oration 21) 386, 34.¹⁹⁰ The Greek also contains religious truths about Christianity, referring to basic Christian ideas: Jesus was born from a Virgin's womb; the Holy Spirit was sent as a comforter; Christians are baptised in the Trinity. Further, the Greek adds how Thomas went to India to proclaim the Gospel; although this is not expounded upon by the Greek author. The Georgian contains literary details that are omitted from the Greek version, for example the reasons why the king hates the Christians so much.

The Georgian text is peppered with ascetic ideas: 'Rooted out the sources of lust, and devoted my mind to the study of good and evil' (1.3 Ge). The Greek text does contain some of these ideas: 'luxury, the prosperity that deceives' (2 Gk). However, they are superseded in the Greek version by the very many biblical quotes: the *B&I* text concentrates more on Jesus and the Gospel message than on ascetic ideas. The Greek tries to make the king more of an idolater than does the Georgian. For example, it refers to him offering sacrifices for Ioasaph's birth, a reference not found in the Georgian version.¹⁹¹

The notable difference between chapter 4 in the Greek and 1.5-6 in the Georgian is the way in which martyrdom is portrayed. The Georgian version reads that 'their martyrdom (was) accomplished for the sake of Christ' (1.6 Ge), whereas in the Greek it is said: 'By fire were these servants of God made perfect, and received the Martyr's crown' (4 Gk). The importance of this difference will be further explained below.

Barlaam declares that he will test Ioasaph; however, in the Greek version there is no real testing of Ioasaph. Instead, Ioasaph asks questions and Barlaam provides answers. It seems that the redactor of *B&I* has forgotten the purpose of this section: the Greek has become prose on the nature of the Christian faith, rather than a test of Ioasaph's beliefs. Moreover, the Greek text adds a number of biblical and church father

¹⁹⁰ See G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (1967): 2. Gregory Nazianzenus' text is followed with works by Eusebius, Basilus, John of Damascus, Didymus, Hesiod, Sophronius Hierosolymitanus and passages from a number of Symeon Metaphrastes texts. Chapter 1 of *B&I* is littered with a variety of quotes or references to church fathers' works. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 6-13 for a full comparative list. Woodward and Mattingly do provide us with some parallels to church fathers texts, however Volk's work is in more depth. The Greek *B&I* version is littered with Biblical, as well as church father quotes throughout the novel. Because of the vast amount of quotes inserted, I will not mention further passages which have been inserted into the Greek text: the reader of this study needs to be aware of the sheer quantity of passages which the Greek redactor has placed into *B&I*.

¹⁹¹ Comparison between *B&I* 2-3 and *Balavariani* 1.3-4.

quotes, as well as doctrines about Christ, which can only be described as creedal.¹⁹² Furthermore, this section is important in that it describes how the Greek author views martyrdom: it is another baptism. Martyrdom is ‘the most honourable, and reverend in all, inasmuch as its waters are not polluted by fresh sin; which also our Lord underwent for our sakes, and rightly called it baptism’ (12 Gk). Although the Georgian does contain a similar description (1.6 Ge), there is no parallel focus on martyrdom (other than the statement that Christ underwent martyrdom). The Greek emphasises that martyrdom not only imitates Christ, but is the most holy action a man can take. Chapters 7 to 12 in the Greek can be described as Barlaam instructing Ioasaph in the Christian faith. These instructions could be understood by a non-Christian reader, and therefore this section may be described as a series of reasons for belief in Christianity. It is however not an apology, as it does not attack other beliefs.¹⁹³

The Georgian text in 2.25 to 2.29, and 2.31 and 2.32 is a discourse on the Christian faith. The content is not similar to chapters 7 to 12 of the Greek version, and the focus in the Georgian version is on how to keep one’s faith, and what Iodasaph¹⁹⁴ must be aware of, and must do, to stay firm in that faith. The purpose of the Georgian is very different from that of the Greek, which has been set out for someone of no faith to understand and possibly to bring them to the Christian faith.

In chapters 18 to 21 of the Greek *B&I*, we can see how the formation of the narrative has been changed from the Georgian version. Before Barlaam leaves, he delivers a monologue to Ioasaph; however, the content is different between the Georgian and the Greek. The Georgian version is a reminder of how to live an ascetic life, whereas the Greek is a reminder of what Ioasaph has learnt about his Christian faith. Because the description of the Christian faith in the Greek contains ascetic ideals, the Georgian and Greek message is essentially the same: learning how to keep a Christian ascetic faith. However, the Greek has lost some of the ascetic pronouncements that can be found in the Georgian, which leads us to conclude that the Greek is not written specifically for Christian ascetics, but for a wider Christian, and perhaps even non-Christian, audience. This could explain why the content of the parting monologue

¹⁹² See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 59-130.

¹⁹³ Comparison between *B&I* 7-12 and *Balavariani* 2.13-14.

¹⁹⁴ I use Iodasaph as a specific reference to the Georgian version of the novel. If there is a parallel passage in both versions of the novel I have used Ioasaph as this is the more familiar name of our protagonist.

given by Barlaam to Ioasaph differs between the Georgian and the Greek. Two further differences emerge from this comparative section. First, the Greek places more emphasis on the importance of baptism. Secondly, in the Greek, Barlaam prays with Ioasaph before he leaves. The Georgian contains only a few references to prayer, whereas the Greek not only has many more references to people praying, but also contains some of their prayers.¹⁹⁵ In the Greek version prayer plays a major role in chapter 25, highlighting further the different uses of prayer between the Greek and the Georgian. Furthermore, we can see a development of apocalyptic theology in the Greek text.

There are a number of additional details in the Georgian that are missing in the Greek,¹⁹⁶ notably the humanisation of the king by the Georgian author. While the Greek redactor portrays the king as a fervent idolater who tortures and kills Christians, the Georgian describes the king's emotions and reactions to his situation; for example, when the king is moved by Iodasaph's faith (3.51 Ge), he is amazed at the wisdom his son imparts and 'loved him still more deeply' for that wisdom. These emotions and reactions are not focused on in the Greek. When Iodasaph sells all the items his father has given him, he sends them abroad to be sold. It is not a case only of additional narrative details, for the Georgian also details Christian ascetic ideas further: when Iodasaph receives the money from the items sold abroad, the Georgian is very precise in describing how he distributes his wealth. The Georgian also adds how Iodasaph takes prisoners into his care, as well as choosing a house that is fitting for himself. Instead, the Greek adds numerous church father quotes, but also draws on classical authors like Cicero, expanding upon ideas contained in the Georgian.¹⁹⁷

The Georgian 3.60 shows a greater tenderness between the son (Iodasaph) and the father (Abenes), using biblical ideas such as that those who believe at the eleventh hour are granted the same reward as those of the first (*Matthew* 20). In the Greek

¹⁹⁵ A number of these are Ioasaph's prayers.

¹⁹⁶ Comparison between *B&I* 33 and *Balavariani* 3.52-6.

¹⁹⁷ For example: when Ioasaph talks about building the temple and veneration of the cross, the Greek redactor uses John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa* 4.2; Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 27, is referred to when the Greek redactor describes those who dwelt in altars and temples; when the novel describes how a man should rule, the Greek redactor draws upon Pope Agapetus I, *Capitula Admonitoria* 1, 2, 4 and 7; Cicero's *Pro Marcello* 8¹⁸¹ is referred to by Ioasaph when discussing giving alms and the judgement of God. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 338-47. It is interesting how this Latin material has ended up in this Greek text: a study on how the redactor uses Latin works in *B&I* might reveal either close translations of the text, or how the redactor uses them as reference works.

version (35) Ioasaph uses instead a passage from Isaiah to comfort the king. We can see that the Georgian does use biblical imagery, although this is one of only a few cases where it refers explicitly to a Bible passage.

Now that we have assessed some of the divergences between the Greek and Georgian versions of *B&I*, it is necessary to draw a final conclusion as to the fundamental differences between them. First and most important is the insertion of the *Apology* into the Greek, along with a wide range of church fathers, as well as Greek and Roman philosophers. The *Apology* is the earliest non-biblical Christian text the Greek redactor has inserted into the text of *B&I*. He has inserted Bible passages wherever he has deemed it possible to do so. Although the Georgian does contain some Bible passages, there are far fewer than in the Greek version. The Greek also shows a development in the theological content of *B&I*: religious truths, doctrine, baptismal instructions, prayers, martyrdom and apocalyptic theology have all been embellished upon by the Greek redactor.

The *Balavariani* and *B&I* contain differing background details, and what is included in one may be absent in the other; some of these differences have been described above. However, the important point to stress here is that there are no major narrative differences between the two versions. In terms of the overarching narrative, the differences are subtle: in comparison with the Georgian version the Greek text portrays the king quite negatively, and it has lost some of its ascetic roots.

The purpose of the Greek text is different from that of the Georgian. This is first evident in chapters 7 to 12 of *B&I*, where the Greek redactor adds a large chunk of text that is not comparable to the Georgian parent text. While the Georgian text is a novel, written for ascetic Christians to help them remain firm in their ascetic faith, the Greek contains basic descriptions of Christian belief, and therefore could be understood by someone who knows nothing of Christianity. Therefore, the Greek text can be described as a Christian novel aimed at both Christians and non-Christians, with the purpose of promoting the Christian faith in all its glory.

The differences can be summarised as follows:

- The Greek adds: the *Apology*, church fathers, classical authors and more Bible quotes (although the Georgian does use the Bible already). The Greek also includes religious truths, doctrine, baptism instructions, prayers, and apocalyptic theology, and looks upon martyrdom with great enthusiasm.

- There are only small narrative differences between the Greek and the Georgian.
- The Greek takes a negative view of the king.
- The Georgian contains more ascetic ideals.
- The Greek has lost its purpose as laid out in the Georgian parent. The Georgian purpose is to help keep one's ascetic faith, whereas the Greek is intended to help someone of no faith to come to faith.

4) Latin

We have discussed briefly the importance of the Latin version of *B&I*.¹⁹⁸ However, to understand the actual depth and breadth of importance this Latin version had, it is necessary to first understand the background to the Latin version. This will enable us to bring into the discussion not just the textual transmission of the Greek version of the *Apology*, but also the Latin version of the *Apology* contained in the Latin *B&I*. The first Latin translation¹⁹⁹ of the Greek *B&I*, known now as the 'Naples version', was made in Constantinople in 1048 A.D.. A second Latin version was composed in either the eleventh or twelfth century, and from it numerous shorter Latin versions were created.²⁰⁰ Later vernacular translations, made from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, derived from the second Latin version of *B&I*.²⁰¹ The Naples version exists only in a fourteenth century copy, and is therefore not the earliest form of the Latin manuscript tradition. It is possible to date the copied parent text of the Naples

¹⁹⁸ Later vernacular versions derived from the Latin version. See J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Josaphat* (1949): 119-260.

¹⁹⁹ J.M. Gázquez, *Hystoria Barlae et Josaphat* (1997). This has not yet been translated into English. For a discussion on this manuscript see D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' (1967): xxxvi-xxvii; H. Peri, 'Ancienne traduction latine' (1959): 169-89; P. Peeters, 'La première traduction latine' (1931): 276-312. For a description on the contents of the rest of the Naples manuscript folios see H. Peri, 'La plus ancienne traduction latine' (1959): 173. See also E. Creazzo, 'La cornice del Barlaam e Josaphat' (2003): 341-58 who begins to look at the Latin versions and beyond, as well as the frame which *B&I* takes.

²⁰⁰ For a stemma of these manuscripts see G. Dapelo, 'Il romanzo latino' (2001): 194. In BHL 979b, the Naples manuscript states it was the Georgian Euthymius, of Mount Athos, whom the Greek *B&I* was attributed to. BHL 979, which is the second Latin translation from the twelfth century, attributes the Greek *B&I* to John of Damascus. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Josaphat* (2006): viii; D.M. Lang, 'St. Euthymius' (1955): 308.

²⁰¹ See K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 25; J.C. Hirsh, *Barlam and Josaphat* (1986): xix. Some of these vernacular versions made their way into Germany, France, the Netherlands, Romania, Provence, Italy, Spain, Norway, Portugal and Russia (see *ibidem*). It also made its way to England through one of the shorter Latin versions known as *Legenda Aurea* which is described as 'the direct ancestor of the Middle English shorter versions of *B&I*' (K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* [1999]: 25). In the *Legenda Aurea*, the Biblical quotations and the *Apology of Aristides* are reduced (*ibidem*). See C. Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat* (2014): 77-440 for a comprehensive list, and full description of all languages, and their respective different versions, as well as a full bibliographical list and manuscript traditions.

version to 1048 A.D., because a rendering in the manuscript that reads: ‘It was in the sixth year of Constantine Monomachus’ reign [June 1048 – June 1049 A.D.]²⁰² a noble man named Leo brought to the translator, whose name is unknown, the Greek novel of *B&I* and asked him to translate it into Latin. This took place in the year 1048 A.D., which was when the translator was in his sixtieth year and the thirty-first of his residence in Constantinople.’²⁰³

The Latin manuscript, Naples Cod. B. N. VIII.B.10, is dated to the fourteenth century. It is included within Volk’s Modification A classification. Volk believes the Naples manuscript is close to manuscripts H²⁰⁴ and J of the Greek text:²⁰⁵ both are classified as Modification A and dated to the eleventh century.²⁰⁶ There has been very little scholarly interest regarding the differences between the different Latin versions of *B&I*.²⁰⁷ In 1997, Gázquez published the Naples Latin version and compared only small sections of the Latin text to the Greek *B&I* version. He concluded that the Naples version tends to amplify the Greek version, with an ‘overabundance of explanations and justifications’²⁰⁸ that are especially prominent in chapter 1 of *B&I*. However, as can be seen from appendix 2, the *Apology* chapter in the Naples version closely follows the Greek version of *B&I*, with only a few minor alterations and additions.

²⁰² R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 88; D.M. Lang ‘Introduction’ (1966): xxvi; J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 63-5; R.L. Wolff, ‘Barlaam and Ioasaph’ (1939): 135.

P. Chiesa, ‘Ambiente e tradizioni’ (1983): 524-6, 43 explains why some prefer a 1048-1049 A.D. dating and why some like he himself as well as P. Peeters, ‘La première traduction latine’ (1931): 280 prefer a 1047-1048 A.D. dating. There is a split opinion on dating because there are three sources which date the reign of Constantine Monachus IX: two which favour the sixth year being 1048 A.D., whereas one favours 1047 A.D. as being the sixth year of his reign.

²⁰³ See D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxvi-xxviii. See also R.L. Wolff, ‘Barlaam and Ioasaph’ (1939): 133-7.

²⁰⁴ Sofia, Naučen centăr za slavjano-vizantiskji proučvanija “akad. Ivan Dujčev” kăm Sofijski Universitet “Kliment Ochridski”, Cod. gr. 270 [a. 1926-1976] Sofia, Bălgarska Akademija na naukite III 470, olim [a. 1917-1926] ibidem B. 180 = catal. Sis mss. Kos. membr. 128 [= Kp. 73 Katsaros], olim Kosinitza sine numero), fol. 1^r – 64^v, 72^r – 111^v, 117^r – 132^v, 139^r – 162^v and 168^r – 231^v.

²⁰⁵ Moskau, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, Sinodal’noe (Patriarišee) sobranie rukopisej, Cod. gr. 246 (Vladimir 399; Matthaëi CCXXXIII; olim Athos, Movή Ἰβήρων), fol. 2^r – 240^v.

²⁰⁶ R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikation’ (1993-1994): 458-9.

²⁰⁷ No scholar has undertaken a comparison between the different Latin versions of *B&I*. For a discussion on the Latin texts see C. Cordoni, *Barlaam und Josaphat* (2014): 58-76; G. Dapelo, ‘Il romans latino’ (2001): 179-220; P. Chiesa, ‘Ambiente e tradizioni’ (1983): 521-544; L.R. Mills, ‘L’histoire de Barlaam et Josaphat’ (1973): 7-27; H. Peri, ‘La plus ancienne traduction latine’ (1959): 169-89; J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 71-116; B. de Gaiffer, ‘G. Moldenhauer, *Die Legende*’ (1930): 428-9; G. Moldenhauer, *Die Legende von Barlaam* (1929); J. de Billy, *Histoire de Barlaam* (1574): 116-23.

²⁰⁸ J.M. Gázquez, *Hystoria Barlae et Iosaphat* (1997): xviii.

The textual transmission of this once Buddhist novel is complex, and there can be no unanimous and final agreement upon it. However, if Lang's stemma is correct, then he provides us with a plausible textual transmission theory of how the *Life of Buddha* became the Christian *B&I*. Although we have already compared the Greek and Georgian versions of *B&I*, let us look now at the content of the Greek version alone, to get a better picture of how the Greek story flows, and how the *Apology* fits in to the text.

ii) The Content of *B&I*

The Greek novel *B&I* is about the life of one man: Ioasaph, the son of Abenner, king of the Indians. The king is an idolater who persecutes Christians (chapter 1), and upon hearing an astrologer's prophecy that Ioasaph will embrace Christianity, he builds for his son a palace where no one, except those most trusted, are able to see him. Furthermore the king intensifies his persecution of Christians (chapter 3), burning monks or pursuing them out of the country until none remain, except those who have managed to hide (chapter 4).

When Ioasaph grows older he learns the nature of his imprisonment and receives the 'word of salvation' (chapter 5). Through 'divine revelation' (chapter 6) Barlaam, a hermit, learns of Ioasaph's distress and travels to meet and talk with him. Through the use of cunning he gains access to the prince and imparts his wisdom on Christianity, speaking through biblical parables and other stories, through doctrine and through a series of apologues. Their conversation, related from chapter 6 to chapter 21, ends with Ioasaph being baptised (chapter 19). Ioasaph's tutor Zardan, troubled by the number of Barlaam's visits, decides to eavesdrop (chapter 21). Eventually, Zardan tells the king about the nature of these visits, despite Ioasaph's pleas that he should not do so (chapter 22).

The king plots with his counsellor Araches to recover Ioasaph's idolatry (chapter 23). Araches pursues Barlaam, but unable to find him, he locates a man named Nachor who will impersonate Barlaam and try to show Ioasaph the error of his ways. Nachor is brought to the king, disguised as Barlaam, and Ioasaph is told that Barlaam has been captured. However, Ioasaph learns the truth about the fake capture of Barlaam through a vision. The king pleads with Ioasaph to renounce Christianity and return to worshipping

the king's gods. Ioasaph responds by declaring his Christian faith and his intention to abstain from idolatry (chapter 24). The king lays a trap, declaring that Ioasaph will inherit his kingdom, but Ioasaph sees the trap and declines the offer (chapter 25). Therefore, the king offers to hold a debate about the truth of religions; Ioasaph visits Nachor to impart the seriousness of this and Nachor dreads Ioasaph's resolve to plead his cause in good faith (chapter 26). Nachor's lengthy defence of the Christian religion (chapter 27, the *Apology* chapter) is a triumph, and after the debate is called to a close, Nachor seeks salvation and goes into the desert (chapter 28).

An idol priest and magician by the name of Theudas goes to the king and together they plot to ensnare Ioasaph once more (chapter 29). Theudas casts a spell over Ioasaph, but the prince fights the spell (chapter 30). Theudas goes to meet Ioasaph to argue with him (chapter 31), which results in Theudas' conversion (chapter 32). With no choices left, the king gives Ioasaph half his kingdom. Ioasaph builds Christian temples, and gives away all his wealth, so that his fame outshines his father's (chapter 33). Ioasaph goes to speak with his father (chapter 34), which results in the king finally denouncing idolatry and handing to Ioasaph his half of the kingdom, so that Christianity prospers throughout (chapter 35).

Ioasaph makes his friend Barachias king, and retires to the desert (chapter 36), seeking out Barlaam (chapter 37). After two years Ioasaph finds Barlaam and they dwell together for many years (chapter 38). Barlaam later dies (chapter 39) and Ioasaph spends another 35 years in the desert, where he too dies. When Barachias learns of Ioasaph's death, he brings back the bodies of both men, whom he makes into saints (chapter 40).

Our short outline of the narrative's plot shows the crucial importance that the *Apology* has in this redaction, as it marks the turn in the novel. It is placed centre stage and makes this Greek version to what it has become, an introductory literature for theologically educated Christian, high ended society, converts to the monastic life.²⁰⁹

iii) Authorship and Date (with an alternative textual tradition)

As we have seen, there is some dispute as to the textual transmission of *B&I*. It is equally important to discuss the authorship of the Greek *B&I* text as it is to

²⁰⁹ Which is why the theory of John of Damascus as author does, at first, seem plausible.

understand the environment in which the text was translated, or even redacted. Furthermore, if we know the author or redactor of *B&I*, then we may be able to discern more clearly why the *Apology* has been inserted into the novel. Similar to the discussion around the textual transmission of the novel, there is no unanimous scholarly opinion on the authorship of *B&I*. There are five potential authors: a monk known as ‘John’, who flourished around 600 A.D.; John of Damascus; St. Euthymius from Mount Athos; Theophanes and John Malalas. Of these five, only the first three have gained main stream support. Attribution of authorship of *B&I* to Theophanes is only put forward by Kazhdan who claims that the author of *B&I* ‘interrupts the monotony of his narration with parables. This is something Theophanes does, albeit more frequently.’²¹⁰ Despite this evidence, Kazhdan admits that Theophanes was probably not the author of *B&I*. The theory that John Malalas is the author, or redactor, of *B&I* is put forward by Robinson who notes the number of similarities between Malalas and the *Passion of St. Catherine*.²¹¹ We now know that the recension of the *Passion of St. Catherine* used in *B&I* is by Symeon Metaphrastes.²¹² Therefore, of John the monk, John of Damascus and St. Euthymius, who was the author of *B&I*?

The first possible author of *B&I* is John the monk, or John Sabaite,²¹³ known to have been at St. Sabas monastery until 602/3 A.D.; he died either in Rome in 620 A.D.²¹⁴ or at Saint Sabas in 634.²¹⁵ In his thesis, Zotenberg tries to undermine the

²¹⁰ A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine literature* (1999): 234. For a chronological discussion of authors’ opinions as to who wrote *B&I* (instead of a ‘thematic’ discussion) see E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 192-207.

²¹¹ See J.A. Robinson, ‘Passion of St. Catherine’ (1923-4): 253.

²¹² R. Volk, ‘Symeon Metaphrastes’ (1996): 88-111.

²¹³ H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 76. His thesis has support from B. Lourié, ‘India “Far beyond Egypt”’ (2011): 156-7, 160; A. D’Alès, ‘L’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1924): 359; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, Erster Band (1902): 189; J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896); E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 46; E. Kuhn, ‘Barlaam und Joasaph’ (1893): 1-88; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897): 887; A. Erhard, ‘Das griechische Kloster’ (1893): 48; E. Rehatsek and T.W. Rhys Davids, ‘King’s Son and the Ascetic’ (1890): 119.

²¹⁴ See P. Devos, ‘Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec’ (1957): 101; H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 76.

²¹⁵ P. Devos, ‘Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec’ (1957): 103. See S. Vailhe ‘Jean Mosch’ (1901-2): 107-116 who places his death in either 619 A.D. or 634 A.D.. See a response by F. Halkin, ‘Jean Moschus’ (1947): 287. See also M.-J. Rouët de Journel, *Jean Moschus* (1946): 11 who agrees with Vailhe. For a description of John the monk’s life see E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 155-8; S. Vailhe ‘Jean Mosch’ (1901-2): 107-16.

manuscript evidence attributing *B&I* to either Euthymius²¹⁶ or John of Damascus. This is especially important as the theory that either Euthymius or John of Damascus was the author of *B&I* existed as early as the eleventh century.²¹⁷ Around 300 years previous to Zotenberg Jean de Billy²¹⁸ argues in detail that *B&I* was of a similar style of John of Damascus. Zotenberg argues in meticulous detail, both on stylistic grounds and in terms of content, against that view.²¹⁹ First, the author of *B&I* draws on more sources than just works by John of Damascus.²²⁰ Further, the theology of *B&I* ‘significantly differs from the theology of John Damascene’;²²¹ it is consistent with the dogma of the authors of the Eastern Orthodox Church of the sixth and seventh centuries, where ascetic doctrine occupied a dominant position.²²² Zotenberg concludes that *B&I* was written after the new doctrine in the East was produced in 620 A.D..²²³ Although there is some later theology regarding free will, which has been redacted later, the backbone of *B&I* dates to the late sixth or early seventh century.²²⁴

Zotenberg discusses the transmission of the Greek version of *B&I*. He believes the existence of this text to be due entirely to John the monk; whereas others who support Zotenberg have suggested that a Greek version was in existence before the Georgian version.²²⁵ Similarly, he does not discuss the *lemma* and the problems that

²¹⁶ Who states the manuscript evidence supporting John is far greater than the evidence for Euthymius. Further, ‘the beginnings of Georgian literature ... only date from the second half of the X century’ and could not therefore attribute *B&I* to Euthymius. See H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 9-10.

²¹⁷ In 1085 A.D., Michael of Antioch wrote about John of Damascus’ life. Here he states that John was the author of the *B&I* novel. See A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1190; F. Halkin, ‘Reseñ al libro de Dölger’ (1953): 478; F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 62; G. Graf, ‘Das arabische Original’ (1913): 168. See also G. Graf, *Geschichte* (1944): 546-8. Wolf thinks Michael inserted into the *lemma*, which originally attributed *B&I* to John the monk, ‘of Damascus’ for completeness. See R.L. Wolff, ‘The Apology of Aristides’ (1937): 246-7. The poet Gui de Cambrai composes a verse in 1215 A.D. who states that *B&I* was translated by John of Damascus. See H. Peri, ‘La plus ancienne traduction latine’ (1959): 180. See A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1192.

²¹⁸ J. de Billy, *Histoire de Barlaam* (1574).

²¹⁹ See H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 13-34.

²²⁰ See H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 22, 29.

²²¹ H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 37.

²²² H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 36. See also M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 18.

²²³ This date also falls before the genesis of Islam. See below for a discussion on this.

²²⁴ H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 55, 77.

²²⁵ See S. Nutsubidze, *Varlaame i Ioasaf* (1956): 75. This conclusion is questioned by E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 156; P. Devos, ‘Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec’ (1957): 103.

arise with this.²²⁶ Zotenberg makes ‘haphazard observations’ concerning the theology of *B&I* and the text imitating the style of the Byzantines.²²⁷ Therefore, we need to ask what physical evidence exists to support the attribution of authorship to John the Monk. In fact, there is very little. We have a number of *lemmata* of *B&I* that attribute the novel to John the monk, as well as some language arguments concerning the Byzantine period. Beyond this we know very little about John the monk, and Blake has suggested that literary tradition has tried to create a place for him, where there is none. Other writers contemporary with John the monk were far more active, such as John Moschos and Sophronius, whose literary activity at Lavra (not far from Sabas) is well known.²²⁸ Zotenberg’s thesis contains a number of plausible arguments concerning the attribution of authorship of *B&I* to John of Damascus. How have subsequent scholars dealt with Zotenberg’s challenging thesis?

The majority of scholarship up until the early twentieth century has been more inclined to believe St. John of Damascus was the translator and author of *B&I*.²²⁹ Modern scholarship has changed that view, having produced better weighted arguments that suggest *B&I* was translated metaphrastically from the Georgian into the Greek by St. Euthymius, and then redacted by a contemporary of his.²³⁰ There are potential difficulties with attributing the Greek *B&I* to the church father: first of all, if John of Damascus was the author, why does the earliest manuscript of *B&I* date to 300 years after his death?²³¹ To date, we know of no Greek version of the text that may have existed before the tenth century. Furthermore, how can the question of the Georgian text

²²⁶ This will be discussed in detail below.

²²⁷ A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1193.

²²⁸ R.P. Blake, ‘La littérature grecque’ (1965): 374-5.

²²⁹ R. van den Broek, ‘Eugnostos and Aristides’ (1988): 203; H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literature* (1959): 35-40; H. Peri, ‘La plus ancienne traduction latine’ (1959): 169; G. Garitte ‘Georges l’Hagorites’ (1958): 57-63; F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953); E. Cosquin, ‘La légende’ (1880): 579; B. Dorn, ‘Josaphat und Barlaam’ (1852): 305-23.

²³⁰ P. Peeters (‘La première traduction latine’ [1931]: 276-312) was the first to recognise this. Modern scholars appear to predominantly fall into one of two camps. The first is those who support the theory that John of Damascus is the author and redactor of *B&I*. Often, these scholars refer to, and draw from, Dölger’s thesis. The second camp are those who support Lang (and previous to him, Peeters) and the theory that Euthymius is the translator of *B&I*. The reason why a lot of this secondary discussion deals with mainly Lang or Dölger is because there has been little added to the field, of the authorship attribution problem of *B&I*, since these two scholars debated the issue over sixty years ago.

²³¹ See P. Peeters, ‘La première traduction latine’ (1931): 276-312; F. Halkin, ‘Reseñ al libro de Dölger’ (1953): 476.

be dealt with, when the Georgian itself was made after the death of John of Damascus? Let us delve into this conundrum further.

The use of abundant quotations from John of Damascus has led some scholars²³² ‘to revive the attribution contained in certain later mediaeval manuscripts’ of *B&I* (i.e. the *lemma*).²³³ There are over a hundred parallel passages to John of Damascus, with further parallels to the works of other church fathers.²³⁴ Here, we must bear in mind that relying upon parallels *alone*, without considering the context or other possible influences upon the text, can be dangerous and lead to false assumptions.²³⁵ We must also exercise caution as to what the parallels consist of: for example ‘quotations from the Bible or from well-known liturgical texts’.²³⁶ F. Dölger is guilty in this respect: he produces over a hundred parallel passages between John of Damascus and *B&I*. A number of these passages however, some of which are discussed by G. Downey and F. Halkin, concern either the Bible or other church father texts.²³⁷

²³² Such as F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953) and more recently A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine literature* (1999): 96-7. See also *ibid*: 100-2 who compares St. John of Damascus’ *Enkomion of St. Barbara* to *B&I*. *B&I* contains similar ascetic ideas which are comparable to *St. Barbara*, although these ascetic ideas may be sourced from elsewhere and not specifically *B&I*. We will discuss the attribution of *B&I* to John of Damascus, but would John of Damascus have borrowed from his own works and inserted them into the novel? The same can be said regarding the claim that Symeon Metaphrastes was the redactor of the *B&I*.

²³³ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balahvar* (1957): 57. These authorship attributions which are contained in the *lemmata* of manuscripts will be discussed in detail below.

²³⁴ See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 69-104. In a later article, Dölger states that he does not understand why others have opposed his thesis and its parallels to John of Damascus’ work. See Franz Dölger, ‘Der griechische Barlaamroman’ (1955): 215.

²³⁵ See C.M. Byrne ‘Biographical Clues’ (1966): 191-2.

²³⁶ D.M. Lang, *Wisdom of Balhavar* (1957): 57. See also G. Downey, ‘Der griechische Barlaam-Roman’ (1956): 166-8 who writes in depth about the caution which must be used when we delve into the use of parallels between John of Damascus’ texts and *B&I*.

²³⁷ See G. Downey, ‘Der griechische Barlaam-Roman’ (1956): 166-8 who discusses five parallel passages (with reference to F. Dölger, *Der Griechische Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 69-104, sections 11, 24, 37, 73 and 93) which can be identified as quotations of scripture (G. Downey, ‘Der griechische Barlaam-Roman’ [1956]: 166). Looking at the first forty parallels, F. Halkin, ‘Reseñ al libro de Dölger’ (1953): 475-80 discusses a further five parallels made by Dölger (see F. Dölger, *Der Griechische Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 69-104 sections 2, 5, 9, 19, 40) which are borrowed from the Psalms or New Testament. The sentence structure in Symeon Metaphrastes is a lot simpler than *B&I* which is why some still prefer John of Damascus as author. See R. Volk, ‘Symeon Metaphrastes’ (1996): 135. No scholar has yet produced a text comparison between *B&I*, John of Damascus and Symeon Metaphrastes of similarities and differences between these texts.

Dölger is the one of the more modern scholars who support the authorship of *B&I* to John of Damascus.²³⁸ It is possible to hypothesise that the translator or redactor was ‘permeated by the writings of St. John Damascene to such an extent as to know them virtually by heart, and borrow quotations and reminiscences from them on every possible occasion’.²³⁹ Such a hypothesis is plausible, because one potential translator of the Georgian text into Greek is St. Euthymius, who was certainly ‘permeated’ by the works of John of Damascus; indeed, he translated many of his writings into Georgian.²⁴⁰

We have seen in the comparison between the Georgian and Greek *B&I* texts how many other external sources were inserted by a translator or redactor. Potentially all of the parallel passages to John of Damascus could have been inserted later. This conclusion is based on the view of modern scholarship that the Greek relies on the Georgian *Balavariani*. Dölger, however, thought the Greek relied on a previous Syriac version (this was because the only Georgian text available to him was the smaller *Wisdom of Balahvar* – the *Balavariani* was yet to be published).

²³⁸ F. Dölger (*Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 61-9 for a more in depth discussion) points to four main pieces of evidence to support his attribution of authorship, all of which shall be expounded upon below:

- 1) The hand-written testimony
- 2) The identity of the theological and polemical position
- 3) The consensus in the theological formulations
- 4) The correspondence in characteristic elements of composition and stylisation.

Dölger, in refuting Zotenberg, declares that the Biblical passages are closer to the works of John of Damascus than the original Bible passages (see F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 50). Downey and Halkin have already discussed how a number of these passages are closer to the original Bible passage than to the work of John of Damascus.

In my own assessment I have discovered that a number of Dölger’s comparative work between *B&I* and John of Damascus’ texts are not at all similar. For example, looking at the first thirty comparisons given to us by Dölger (see F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 69-104), sections 6, 7, 21 and 28 contain little affinity to one another. Similarly, section 23 contains a small section of *B&I*: comparing only a few words from a work of John of Damascus before jumping to a different chapter, where only a few more words are compared before he jumps to a different chapter again. Furthermore, section 28 could be described as a ‘truth’ of Christianity.

There are a number of suitable comparisons between John of Damascus’ works and the *B&I* text. For example number 14 and 26 are large portions of texts which suggest a high level of similarity between *B&I* and John of Damascus’ work.

²³⁹ See F. Halkin, ‘Reseñ al libro de Dölger’, (1953): 478. We can say something similar to that of the attribution of authorship of the books of *Timothy* which were originally thought to be by the hand of St. Paul. We now know that Paul did not write 1 or 2 *Timothy* but someone was imitating his style (see U. Schnelle, *Apostle Paul* [2002]: 3-5; F. Young, *Pastoral Letters* [1994]: 122). I am not suggesting that the author of *B&I* intentionally drew upon the style of John of Damascus but, as Halkin proposed, that the author of *B&I* knew the works of St. John well enough to fall into a similar style of writing. See also D. M. Lang, ‘St. Euthymius’ (1955): 321.

²⁴⁰ See M. Brière ‘Lettres georgiennes chretiennes’ (1957): 82-4; D. M. Lang, *Lives and Legends* (1957): 155-68; M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur* (1955): 131-54; M. Tarchnišvili, ‘Anfänge’ (1954): 116-20; R. P. Blake, ‘Georgian theological Literature’ (1924): 50-64 for a list of works St. Euthymius translated.

Dölger uses the *lemma*, that states how the text came into being, to attribute authorship of the novel to John of Damascus.²⁴¹ Some of these *lemmata* are quite clear and specific in recognising John of Damascus as author; in fact we have twenty-three manuscripts,²⁴² as well as BHL 979, which identify him as author. For example, the *lemma* of W₁ reads:

Ἱστορία ψυχωφελὴς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐνδοτέρων Αἰθιοπῶν χώρας, τῆς Ἰνδῶν
 λεγομένης, πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν μετενεχθεῖσα διὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ τοῦ
 Δαμασκηνοῦ, ἀνδρὸς τιμίου καὶ ἐναρέτου μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα,
 δυηγουμένη τὸν βίον Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ.²⁴³

Zotenberg²⁴⁴ claimed that no manuscript dating from before the fifteenth century contains the *lemma* attributing *B&I* to John of Damascus. Not until recently, when Volk produced a critical edition of *B&I*, have we been able to view all the manuscripts in one edition and prove Zotenberg's claim to be incorrect. Volk's critical edition is vital, as previously many manuscripts had remained unpublished, and only a small selection had been used in the earlier critical tradition of the *B&I* text. From Volk's critical edition we can see that there are five manuscripts that are dated before the fifteenth century and name John of Damascus as author of *B&I*.²⁴⁵ The earliest of the five manuscripts, although containing only a few folios of *B&I*, is from the thirteenth century: Jerusalem, Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Fonds τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ 42, fol. 6^r – 7^v and 203^r. Volk

²⁴¹ F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 4-15.

²⁴² See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006).

²⁴³ Folio 1^r.

²⁴⁴ H. Zotenberg, 'Notice' (1887): 3-4. Re-iterated by R. L. Wolff, 'Barlaam and Ioasaph' (1939): 131.

²⁴⁵ The first manuscript is Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek OeW Cod. I. 1. 2° 1 (olim Maihingen bzw. Harburg, Fürstl. Oettingen-Wallersteinische Bibliothek I 1, fol. 1, eventuell olim Bibliothek von Markus Fugger [† 1597]), fol. 1^v (this manuscript is dated between the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and is number 65b in Volk's work). The second manuscript is Jerusalem, Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Fonds τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ 42, fol. 6^r – 7^v and 203^r. (This manuscript is dated to the thirteenth century, and is number 54¹ in Volk's work.) The third manuscript is Kairo, Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (Library of the Patriarch of Alexandria at Cairo), Cod. ? (This manuscript is dated to the fourteenth century. It proceeds number 54² and precedes number 56. The manuscript itself is not numbered by Volk. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* [2009]: 335). The fourth is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 907 (olim Delamare, _Reg. 2380,2), fol 1^r – 111^r (this manuscript is dated between the fourteenth and fifteenth century and is number 99 in Volk's work). The fifth and final manuscript before the fifteenth century which attributes John of Damascus as the author of *B&I* is Vatikanstadt, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Palatinus gr. 201, fol. 1^r – 106^r (this is dated to the thirteenth century although Volk is unsure about this due to its similarities to a manuscript from 1633. It is number 133 in Volk's work).

believes this Jerusalem manuscript provides ‘probably the oldest title ... explicitly attributed to John of Damascus’.²⁴⁶

There are some earlier *lemmata* which mention only a ‘John’. Dölger argues that these are referring to John of Damascus,²⁴⁷ since we know he was a monk at the Sabas monastery.²⁴⁸ It is possible to speculate that a later copyist noticed the similarities between *B&I* and John of Damascus, as well as the reference to John, and decided to ascribe authorship of *B&I* to John of Damascus.²⁴⁹ The fact that John of Damascus was at the Sabas monastery does not mean the ‘John’ in some of the *lemmata* is John of Damascus. Most of the manuscripts that acknowledge ‘John the monk’ in their *lemma* are older than the *lemmata* that ascribe authorship to John of Damascus. For example, if we take the *lemma* from manuscript D from the eleventh century:

Ἱστορία ψυχωφελὴς δηλοῦσα τὸν βίον τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν Βαρλαάμ
καὶ Ἰωάσαφ μετενεχθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοπτέρων τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν χώρας, τῆς
Ἰνδῶν λεγομένης, πρὸς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν διὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ, ἀνδρὸς
τιμίου καὶ ἐναρέτου μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα.²⁵⁰

Comparing this with the *lemma* that attributes authorship to John of Damascus, we can see that beyond some internal rearrangement of the content, the core difference is the introduction ‘of Damascus’ in the former *lemma*.

If we put to one side the similarities and differences between the two *lemmata* and undertake a more contextual examination, we can see that both are rather ‘incongruous’,²⁵¹ in the way Ethiopia and India are confused. John of Damascus would not get this wrong: in his *Expositio Fidei*, John knows of the Indian Ganges and of the

²⁴⁶ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 332.

²⁴⁷ See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 59.

²⁴⁸ See S. Vailhe, ‘Mar-Saba’ (1898): 34-9. The monastery however was sacked by the Arabs in 809 A.D. and from then on ceased to produce luxury manuscripts. According to R.P. Blake, ‘La littérature grecque’ [1965]: 378) ‘Palestine-Greek literature died off in the ninth century.’ Some scholars are convinced that despite the sacking of Saint Sabas, manuscripts were still produced in the eighth and ninth centuries. See C. Mango, ‘Sacra Parallela: a review’ (1982): 161-3. See also A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1198-9; A. Erhard, ‘Das griechische Kloster’ (1893): 49-54; S. Vailhe, ‘Mar-Saba’ (1898): 22-44.

²⁴⁹ Alternatively the copyist may have relied upon Michael of Antioch’s *Life of John of Damascus*. See footnote 244.

²⁵⁰ Folio 1^r.

²⁵¹ D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxi.

Nile that flows from Ethiopia to Egypt.²⁵² Additionally, John the monk, whether this is John of Damascus or not, is merely the carrier of the book, and not the translator.²⁵³ Dölger himself admits that the *lemma* cannot have been written by John of Damascus, but was made by a copyist in the Sabas monastery,²⁵⁴ who simplified the phrasing to ‘the author was called John, and was a monk of the Sabas monastery at Jerusalem’.²⁵⁵ It is difficult to understand where Dölger is getting his information from, as he does not state which manuscript he is quoting when he comes to this conclusion. Furthermore, we can see how inconsistent the *lemma* is in identifying John as the carrier of the book. Because the *lemmata* suggest different authors,²⁵⁶ we cannot conclude on that evidence alone who the author is. Let us explore further other arguments, not based on the *lemma*, and see whether these arguments solve the problem of attribution of authorship of *B&I*. If John of Damascus was the author of *B&I*, how did he come across the text?

Dölger suggests that the text came to John of Damascus through a Syriac version, which is needed after a Pahlavi version, or indeed possibly an Arabic version, because ‘Syriac was the main conduit pipe through which ... Oriental treasures were added to Greco-Byzantine literature’.²⁵⁷ Dölger creates a hypothetical story in which John of Damascus encountered an earlier form of *B&I*, which the church father then made into the *B&I* version we now know.²⁵⁸ Dölger says that some ‘pious men’ from India came to John of Damascus, who was in Palestine, at the monastery of St. Sabas, and recited to him from their ‘reliable records’²⁵⁹ the Buddha’s life story, and explained

²⁵² A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1194. B. Lourié, ‘India “Far beyond Egypt”’ (2011): 151-2 states that the confusion between these two countries in Greek literature is not uncommon, and the confusion between the two was primarily caused by complicated Greek terminology. See also P. Mayerson, ‘A confusion of Indias’ (1993): 169-74; K. O’bwerng-Okwess, ‘Les différentes acceptions des termes Aithiopia et Aithiopes’ (1991-2): 157-61.

²⁵³ F. Halkin, ‘Reseñ al libro de Dölger’, (1953): 477. Even if John of Damascus carried the book, John never went to India. See D.M. Lang, ‘St. Euthymius’ (1955): 325.

²⁵⁴ F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 20.

²⁵⁵ F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 20.

²⁵⁶ ‘John the Monk’ is the most common author mentioned in the *lemmata*.

²⁵⁷ J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1896): xxxii. Dölger concludes that the Greek *B&I* relies on a Syriac parent (*Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 29-30). Because *The Balavariani* had not yet been published, Dölger at the time of writing his study was only aware of the *Wisdom of Balahvar*. There are greater differences between the *Wisdom of Balahvar* and *B&I* than *The Balavariani* and *B&I*: therefore Dölger’s conclusion is correct (that *B&I* does not rely on *Wisdom of Balahvar*). However Dölger was wrong in concluding the parent text of *B&I* was a Syriac version.

²⁵⁸ D.M. Lang, ‘St. Euthymius’ (1955): 312.

²⁵⁹ F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 31.

his ethical doctrine. We are asked to believe that John of Damascus ‘was so pleased with this narrative that he set to work to rewrite it in Greek as a Christian morality’.²⁶⁰ While it is true that St. John was at the monastery of St. Sabas, everything else which Dölger states, is a product of imagination, made to fit Dölger’s hypothesis. Dölger also fails to recognise other early non-Christian ‘prototypes’ of *B&I* which had been known among the Sogdians, Persians and Arabs, ‘who were far closer to Byzantium than the Buddhist holy men of India and Nepal’.²⁶¹

Now Dölger has stated how John of Damascus came into contact with *B&I*, he has to now counter arguments against Zotenberg’s thesis.²⁶² He devotes a third of his work to doing this. Dölger says that *B&I* is not only similar to John of Damascus stylistically, but also in its vocabulary and phraseology, as well as the use of scripture and other church father quotes.²⁶³ We can see that from the internal evidence discussed - the vocabulary, phraseology and use of scripture; and the physical evidence - the earliest manuscript dates to 300 years after the death of John of Damascus, we can deduce that *B&I* was written by an imitator of John of Damascus, as that it was written by the church father himself. Therefore, let us consider the argument from the perspective of church history, and see whether this allows us to attribute authorship of *B&I* to John of Damascus.²⁶⁴

Zotenberg’s suggestion of the seventh century monk named John as author of *B&I* appears plausible for two reasons. First, the *lemma* attributes authorship to a John from St. Sabas monastery. Secondly, the fact that *B&I* does not mention Islam anywhere

²⁶⁰ D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxi.

²⁶¹ D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxii.

²⁶² H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 1-166. We must remind ourselves that Zotenberg in his thesis spent some time countering Jean de Billy’s arguments as to why John of Damascus was *not* the author of *B&I*.

²⁶³ We have previously touched upon the evidence which agrees with, as well as speaks against, the attribution of *B&I* to John of Damascus based on style, vocabulary and phraseology. One scholar who must be brought to this discussion is A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1194. Kazhdan looks at the language in *B&I* and brings to the fore evidence which does not support John of Damascus as author.

²⁶⁴ See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 38-61. Here we must make a note of H. Peri, *Der Religionsdisput der Barlaam-Legende* (1959). Peri, basing his evidence on Zotenberg’s and Dölger’s thesis, creates an intriguing story of the transmission, and authorship, of *B&I*. Peri tries to amalgamate the different transmission theories, as well as authorship attribution problems, and stitch them together. Peri’s arguments are based on little evidence and draw very hypothetical, and non-persuasive, conclusions about the authorship problem: he leaves us with more questions that need answering than solve any problems.

in the text suggests that it was composed before the advent of Islam.²⁶⁵ Yet by reflecting upon the nature of Islam, and upon the purpose of *B&I*, we can come to understand why the author may have excluded any such reference. Part of the purpose of *B&I* is to speak against idolatry; since Islam as a religion is not idolatrous, it would be illogical for it to appear in *B&I*.²⁶⁶ An additional purpose of the Greek version is to convey the Christian message, not to defend it against other religions. The only section of *B&I* that does this is chapter 27: the *Apology*. However, if the *Apology* had been written before the genesis of Islam, and not adapted since, this would explain why it makes no mention of that religion.

During the Iconoclasm period, ‘Moslems and Jews criticised Christianity for the use of images’.²⁶⁷ The churches of Syria and Armenia were against the veneration of anything with a shape; the rest of the Orthodox Eastern Church, that is the Byzantine Church, along with the ordinary people, ‘supported the veneration of icons and this tendency reached its peak in the eighth century’.²⁶⁸ Although there were many disagreements during this period, the main figure who stood against the decision of Emperor Leo II (717-741 A.D.) to prohibit and destroy icons was John of Damascus (676-749/753 A.D.).²⁶⁹ If *B&I* was the work of John of Damascus, why would he write against idolatry at a time when images were under threat and he himself made a case for Christian iconography?²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ Dölger counters Zotenberg’s argument regarding the exclusion of Islam from the text of *B&I*: John of Damascus saw Islam as a ‘dedicated cult of the Ishmaelites’ who are seen by the church father as precursors to the Antichrist. John of Damascus saw Mohammed as a false prophet, with Islam being a Christian heresy, and not a pagan heresy. This is why John of Damascus writes about Islam in his book about Christian heresies (see F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 57).

²⁶⁶ Kazhdan thinks the use of idolatry would not go amiss in Palestine: ‘The label of idolatry seems not appropriate for Islam, and yet we read in the Martyrium of the Sabaites a phrase very close to the formula of the Barlaam: the monks of Mar Saba were ready to endure all torments rather than worship idols and reject Christ. (BHG 884, ed. PG 94, col. 449 B.) The readers of the Barlaam, in Palestine, would understand that idolatry was related to the ‘false religion’ of the Arabs.’ See A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1204.

²⁶⁷ K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 22.

²⁶⁸ K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 21.

²⁶⁹ K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 22.

²⁷⁰ Aristides was an Iconoclast: ‘he saw the folly and the wickedness into which all these things had plunged the human race; he had no sentiment to bid him spare them for their beauty, or for the very pathos of their failure to satisfy the needs of man.’ J.A. Robinson, ‘Apology’ (1896): 40.

For a discussion on the use of iconography in *B&I* see E.A.W. Budge, *Barlām and Yēwāsēf*, Volume 2 (1923): vi; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* (1897): 777.

Thus, the attribution of authorship of *B&I* to John of Damascus does not appear conclusive. The more light is cast upon Dölger's arguments, the less persuasive they are. In arguing his case for John of Damascus as author, the German scholar repeatedly has recourse to the *lemmata*.²⁷¹ Yet as we have seen, the *lemmata* cannot be relied upon; not only because of their questionable evidence and confusion between India and Ethiopia, but also the earliest and most reliable text witnesses only state that a monk named John, who was from the monastery of St. Sabas, wrote *B&I*.²⁷² While John of Damascus was certainly a monk at the monastery of St. Sabas, over the centuries there could have been dozens of monks who were named John. In addition, 'John' is said only to have carried the book we now have, not to have translated it. Pouderon states that one cannot establish different families of manuscripts, let alone produce a stemma, through the sole use of a *lemma*.²⁷³ Declaring manuscripts that contain John of Damascus *lemmata* to be the same modification, and assigning those that attribute authorship to Euthymius to a different modification, is not possible using only a *lemma*: 'The title of a book is always likely to have a different transmission than the text itself', which can happen by borrowing from other sources 'depending on the location and the epochs according to the perception that one has of the text, the author and its literary function'.²⁷⁴ Just as we cannot rely on the *Apology lemma* (address), so for similar reasons we cannot rely on the *lemma* of *B&I*.²⁷⁵ We have seen the problems we have in relying upon the *Apology lemma*, and so we must also be careful not to place sole reliance on the *lemma* when attributing authorship of *B&I*.

²⁷¹ See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 38-69.

²⁷² H. Zotenberg, 'Notice' (1887): 5-6.

²⁷³ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 124. This is how Dölger establishes his manuscript modifications. See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* (1953): 11-8.

²⁷⁴ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 124.

²⁷⁵ There is mixed opinion as to which address of the *Apology* is correct. J.A. Robinson, 'Apology' (1896): 33 questions whether the emperor even heard the *Apology*: if the *Apology* was delivered orally to the emperor there would be no need for a formal opening sentence. For a discussion on the address and the problems it presents, as well as differing opinions as to which address is correct, see M. Vincent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (2014): 241-3; A.N. Modona, 'Aristide' (1922): 319-20; E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (1914): 1; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 28-31; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, Erster Band (1902): 196-7; J.A. Robinson, 'Apology' (1896): 32; E. Egli, 'Apologie des Aristides' (1893): 99-103; E. Hennecke, 'Rezension und Rekonstruktion' (1893); M. Picard, *L'apologie* (1892): 49-52; Th. Zahn, 'Die Apologie des Aristides' (1892): 5; A. Harnack, 'J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson' (1891): 302-3; J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 16; R. Seeberg, 'Die Apologie' (1891): 935-6; A. Harnack, 'Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten' (1883): 37.

If, taking into account the numerous theological similarities, as well as parallels, between John of Damascus' work and *B&I*, we were to conclude that John of Damascus must be the author of *B&I*, then another question arises. If the work was composed, or translated, or redacted, by John of Damascus during the eighth century, then why does no other work from the eighth to the tenth century mention either Barlaam or Ioasaph?²⁷⁶ This question is particularly pertinent given how popular the novel became from the tenth century when the text was translated from Georgian into Greek.²⁷⁷

Finally, from a church history point of view, there appears to be no concrete evidence. Rather, scholars have had to concentrate their efforts on filling in the 'gaps' in the narrative of how John of Damascus may have been the author of *B&I*, by creating complex pieces of fiction.²⁷⁸ Such scholarly efforts ignore the physical evidence we have in front of us, in particular the manuscript tradition. Therefore, let us look at the third alternative possibility for a translator and redactor of the Georgian text into Greek.

²⁷⁶ This is why some, such as B. Altaner, *Patrology* (1958): 476, list *B&I* as John of Damascus' 'Unechte Schriften'.

²⁷⁷ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 113.

²⁷⁸ L. Abramowski, 'Der griechische Barlaam-Roman' (1958): 147 thinks Dölger has failed to answer all the questions surrounding the attribution of authorship to John of Damascus. Further, Dölger has misled some scholars by providing misinformation. See B. Kotter, 'Johannes von Damaskus' (1988): 127-32; K. Wessel, 'Barlaam und Joasaph' (1966): 496-507. Wessel claims that Dölger's thesis has 'yet not undergone any challenges'. Dölger's contemporaries have challenged his thesis: see L. Abramowski, 'Der griechische Barlaam-Roman' (1958): 145-7; P. Devos, 'Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec' (1957): 83-104; F. Halkin, 'Reseñ al libro de Dölger' (1953): 475-80; D.M. Lang, 'St. Euthymius' (1955): 306-25; M. Tarchnišvili, 'Anfänge' (1954): 113-24.

One Latin²⁷⁹ and two Greek manuscripts²⁸⁰ contain veneration within the *lemma* to a man known as Euthymius.²⁸¹ It is believed Euthymius was the person responsible for translating the Georgian prototype into the Greek text we now have.²⁸² Therefore, we need to ask: who was Euthymius, and what are the arguments for this *lemma* being more historically correct than the *lemmata* that attribute authorship to John of Damascus, or John the monk?²⁸³

Euthymius was born in 955 A.D. to a noble family; his father was St. John²⁸⁴ the Iberian. In his early life Euthymius was held captive by the emperor in Constantinople,²⁸⁵ but was later released, upon which he went to Mount Olympus and

²⁷⁹ Ms. VIII, B.10 preserved in the National Library at Naples. The manuscript is from the fourteenth century but is believed to be a copy of the original 1048 A.D. Latin translation from the Greek. This Latin translation of the novel is entitled 'Hystoria Barlae et Iosaphat de interiori Ethiopia deducta per Iohannem uenerabilem, monachum monasterii Sancti Sabe in Heliam urbem, et translata in Eolico per Eufinium sanctum uirum.' ('The Story of Barlaam and Iosaphat brought to Jerusalem from inmost Ethiopia by John, a venerable monk of the monastery of St. Sabas, and translated into Greek by the holy man Eufinius') See J.M. Gázquez, *Hystoria Barlae et Iosaphat* (1997): 1; D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' (1967): xxvi.

²⁸⁰ Venedig, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. gr. VII, 26 (attributed the letter M and is number 151 in Volk's work). Volk ascribes the manuscript to the twelfth or thirteenth century, whereas Pouderon and Pierre ascribe it to the eleventh or twelfth century (*Apologie* [2003]: 115). The *lemma* is rendered as '... brought back from Ethiopia to Jerusalem by the monk of St. Sabas, and then translated from the Iberian or Georgian tongue into Greek through the agency of Euthymius the Georgian' (D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' [1967]: xxviii). The second manuscript is: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ancien fonds grec 1771 (attributed the letter L and is number 112 in Volk's work). Volk dates this manuscript to the fourteenth century, whereas Pouderon and Pierre date it to the fifteenth century (*Apologie* [2003]: 116).

²⁸¹ Paul Peeters was the first to identify St. Euthymius as the Greek translator. Peeters says that the use of the definite article led him to believe the translator to be Euthymius, who translated the Georgian text into Greek. See P. Peeters, 'La première traduction latine' (1931): 276-312.

²⁸² R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 127; B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 116-7; E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 219; V. Tiftixoglu, 'Der byzantinische Barlaam-Roman' (1980): 198-9; D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' (1967): xxvii-xxx; P. Devos, 'Les origines du Barlaam et Josaphat grec' (1957): 86-94, 103; M. Tarchnišvili, 'Anfänge' (1954): 116-20; F. Halkin, 'Reseñ al libro de Dölger' (1953): 476-7; J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949); R.L. Wolff, 'The Apology of Aristides' (1937): 241-47; P. Peeters, 'La première traduction latine' (1931): 284; P. Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes' (1917-1919): 11-2. See also Kekilidze, Marr and Rosen.

R.L. Wolff, 'The Apology of Aristides' (1937): 241-47 thinks Euthymius had access to a copy of Aristides and believes the *Apology* still exists in an eastern monastery under a different name.

²⁸³ We must still be cautious in the way that we deal with this information. In one anonymous translation, the Latin reads: 'the first person to translate the story from the "Indian" idiom into Greek was a monk called Eufimius (i.e. Euthymius), by nationality an Abasgian or West Georgian.' (D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' [1967]: xxvii).

²⁸⁴ It is possible that this may be the John who is referred to in the other *lemmata*. This, however, is mere speculation on the subject and there are no substantive arguments to hold up this idea. For the life of John and Euthymius see J. Lefort and D. Papachryssanthou, 'Les premiers géorgiens' (1983): 27-33; H. Métrévélí, 'Le rôle de l'Athos' (1983): 17-26; A. Pertussi, 'Monasteri e monaci' (1963): 217-51; J. Kirchmeyer, 'Euthyme l'Hagorite' (1961): 1722-3; M. Brière 'Lettres géorgiennes chrétiennes' (1957): 81; G. Garitte, 'S. Jean l'Ibère et de S. Euthyme' (1930): 50-67; 181-96; 448-60; G. Garitte 'S. Jean l'Ibère et de S. Euthyme' (1929): 767-84; R.P. Blake, 'Georgian theological Literature' (1924): 50-64; P. Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes' (1917-1919): 8-12.

²⁸⁵ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 116.

became a monk. There he took holy orders and dedicated his whole life to ‘revising and completing the Georgian New Testament and translating many key works of the Greek Fathers, including those of St. John of Damascus’.²⁸⁶ In 1005 A.D. he moved to the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos,²⁸⁷ which his father had founded, and soon became abbot. Euthymius worked on his translations not just at Mount Olympus and Mount Athos but also in Constantinople during his travels.²⁸⁸ This is the first indication that would explain why, if Euthymius were indeed the author of *B&I*, there are strong similarities to John of Damascus’ texts.²⁸⁹

George the Hagorite (around 1045 A.D.), in his *Life of Euthymius and John*, described how Euthymius ‘rendered from Georgian into Greek Balahvari and Abukura and a number of other works’.²⁹⁰ Who then redacted this freshly translated, metaphrastic text to produce the *B&I* text we now have? Was it Euthymius or another ‘Greek monk

²⁸⁶ D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxix. Over 160 items of Euthymius’ translations (Georgian into Greek and Greek into Georgian) have been preserved (B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* [2003]: 117). See M. Brière ‘Lettres georgiennes chretiennes’ (1957): 82-4; D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends* (1957): 155-68; M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur* (1955): 131-54; M. Tarchnišvili, ‘Anfänge’ (1954): 116-20; R.P. Blake, ‘Georgian theological Literature’ (1924): 50-64 for a list of the works Euthymius translated.

²⁸⁷ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 86.

²⁸⁸ See D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxx. For further information on Euthymius see M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur* (1955): 126-31.

²⁸⁹ D. Gimaret, *Le Livre de Bilawhar wa Būdāsaf* (1971): 7 sums up all the positive attribution to Euthymius as translator of *B&I*:

- a) ‘No sources mention Barlaam before the 11th Century
- b) No ancient synaxaires mention saints Barlaam and Ioasaph before this also
- c) Venice and Naples (in the stemma) manuscripts mention Euthymius
- d) George the Hagorites in his biography says that Euthymius translated the Balavariani
- e) It was the golden age of Georgian literature with ‘passions as early as 5th and 6th centuries being translated’
- f) The number of Georgian texts which Euthymius translated from Georgian to Greek
- g) The way each name has correctly moved (Barlaam, Ioasaph and so forth) between languages.

See also H. Zotenberg, ‘Notice’ (1887): 78. For a discussion on synaxaires and their lack of mentioning either Barlaam or Ioasaph see J. Sonet, *Le roman de barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 55-6; J. van den Gheyn, ‘Barlaam et Josaphat’ (1905): 415.

Further, we must observe the *argumenta ex silentio*: ‘the lack of mention of the Arabs in the Barlaam, the lack of Greek manuscripts of the romance before Euthymius, the lack of mention of the Apology of Aristides after late antiquity, the lack of the Syriac intermediary version which could have been the course of the Greek Barlaam, the lack of other known works of John Sabaite, the lack of the cult of saint Barlaam in earlier synaxaria, the lack of the manuscripts of the romance in the monastery of Iviron, and so on and so forth. Observations of this sort can be useful stimuli for a further investigation, but they never prove anything positively.’ See A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1192.

²⁹⁰ D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends* (1957): 155. Garitte weakens the argument for attributing *B&I* to Euthymius. He says that ‘Peeters’ translation had created the impression that George made this statement on the basis of colophons we had seen.’ Garritte concludes that we do not know the sources which George the Hagorite used in attributing Euthymius as translator of the Georgian version of *B&I*. G. Garitte ‘Georges l’Hagorites’ (1958): 63. Garitte stands alone in this opinion.

who was living in the same monastery as St. Euthymius’?²⁹¹ The redaction could have been completed by any one of his fellow monks. Volk suggests that ‘a reworking of the Barlaam novel must have been done by Euthymius himself, the result of which is the text family a (“Urtext”),²⁹² which bears witness to the coming of that time’.²⁹³ The second of these manuscripts, now known as Kiev V 3692, was written in 1021 A.D., and Volk believes Euthymius was its author.²⁹⁴

If Euthymius was only the translator and not the redactor, it is possible this ‘literary translation’ role was filled by either Symeon Metaphrastes, the Logothete, who was a contemporary of Euthymius and his school,²⁹⁵ or St. George the Hagorite, the contemporary biographer of Euthymius.²⁹⁶

If Symeon Metaphrastes was the redactor,²⁹⁷ then given that his death took place between 982 and 987 A.D.,²⁹⁸ the text must have been translated by Euthymius before

²⁹¹ O.R. Imper, and J.E. Keller, ‘Introducción’ (1979): xxi.

²⁹² These two texts are Athos, Μονὴ Ἱβήρων 462, fol. 1^r – 260^v and Kiev, Instytut rukopysu Nacional’noj bibliotekhy Ukraïny imeni V. I. Vernads’koho, Fond V – Odes’ke tovarystvo istorii ta starozhynostej 3692 (olim Athos, Μεγίστη Λαύρα), fol. 1^r – 206^v.

²⁹³ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 87.

²⁹⁴ See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 86-8.

²⁹⁵ See D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxxi and I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 30.

²⁹⁶ See D. M. Lang, *Lives and Legends* (1957): 154, 161-2 as well as J.C. Hirsh, *Barlam and Iosaphat* (1986): xviii.

²⁹⁷ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 115; B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 117; E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 237; T. Bräm, ‘Le Roman’ (1994): 64; D.M. Lang, ‘Introduction’ (1967): xxi, xxxi; K.S. Kekelidze, ‘The Balavar romance in Christian literature’ (1960): 66-7; M. Tarchnišvili, ‘Les Deux Recensions’ (1958): 75 all support Symeon Metaphrastes as redactor. It is believed that Symeon and Euthymius were personally acquainted. See R. Volk, ‘Das Fortwirken der Legende von Barlaam und Ioasaph’ (2003): 127-69. Furthermore Symeon translated the Roman Martyrology which covered five months, including November 19th when Barlaam and Ioasaph are celebrated. See E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 271 for a discussion on this.

It is possible to see that within Volk’s critical edition of *B&I* there are a number of similarities to the works of Symeon Metaphrastes: more so than to John of Damascus. However, it does still not prove that Symeon was the redactor of *B&I*: only that he was acquainted with the works of Symeon. E. Khintibidze, *Literary Contacts* (1996): 271 explains ‘Symeon commenced metaphrasing of hagiographic acts in 982. ... About one hundred years later, in 1081, the metaphrasing of the acts...was taken up by John Xiphilinus.’

²⁹⁸ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 115; R. Volk, ‘Medizinisches im Barlaam-Roman’ (2006): 193. Just before his death, Symeon started translating John of Damascus’ work: this is where some similarity to the church father’s work may have appeared from, see E. Khintibidze, ‘Ekwtine Atoneli’ (1977): 38.

this date. We can locate a number of similarities between Symeon's work and *B&I*.²⁹⁹ This will be discussed in further depth in chapter 2 of this study. For the moment however we must recall previous arguments that the work of John of Damascus is closer to *B&I* than is Symeon Metaphrastes, in sentence structure as well as vocabulary.³⁰⁰

George the Hagorite was born in 1007 A.D. and died in 1065 A.D.. Therefore, if he had been the redactor of *B&I*,³⁰¹ the text would have been redacted in the eleventh century. Although George was schooled in Constantinople, and taught Greek, it was during his time at the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos that he encountered Euthymius' works.³⁰² He arrived at the monastery in 1040 A.D. and left between 1052 and 1057 A.D.,³⁰³ recording the life story of St. John and his son Euthymius around 1044 or 1045 A.D..³⁰⁴ The manuscript that is most pertinent to a literary reworking of *B&I* is Venedig, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. gr. VII, 26 (= coll. 1431; olim Nanianus 137), fol. 1^r – 194^r,³⁰⁵ the *lemma* of which ascribes it to Euthymius, 'a venerable and pious man'. This may be understood as a biographical way of describing Euthymius,³⁰⁶ and the only biographer of the monk was George the Hagorite. Therefore, George the Hagorite could have been a later redactor of the *B&I* text. The problem is

²⁹⁹ One piece of work is the *Passion of Saint Catherine*. Volk has proven that it is Symeon's version of the *Passion* which we find in *B&I*. See R. Volk, 'Symeon Metaphrastes' (1996): 88-111; P. Peeters, 'La première traduction latine' (1931): 292; J.R. Harris, 'A New Christian Apology' (1923): 364-70. For an in depth discussion on the similarity between the *Passion of Saint Catherine* and *B&I*. F. Dölger, 'Die Johannes-Damaskenos-Ausgabe' (1950): 310 suggested that John of Damascus had a lost *Passion of Saint Catherine* which is like Symeon: Symeon however copied John of Damascus'. Dölger again 'clutches at straws' in trying to establish John of Damascus as author.

³⁰⁰ R. Volk 'Das Fortwirken der Legende von Barlaam und Ioasaph' (2003): 135; A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine literature* (1999): 96-7.

³⁰¹ P. Peeters, 'La première traduction latine' (1931): 287, 303.

³⁰² B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 123 presume that it is at Iviron where Euthymius found the *Apology* and inserted it into *B&I*. It could have equally be one of his contemporaries who redacted the novel: George the Hagorite translated a number of works, including the whole of the New Testament as well as works of John of Damascus (M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur* [1955]: 161-74).

In the monastery of Iviron, on Mount Athos, there are no manuscripts of *B&I* or *Balavariani*. This would indicate *B&I* was composed elsewhere. It remains a mystery as to where *B&I* was composed. R.L. Wolff, 'The Apology of Aristides' (1937): 245.

³⁰³ In 1044 A.D. he succeeded hegumen Stephanos and took charge of the monastery.

³⁰⁴ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 87. Tarchnišvili thinks the work had to have been completed before 1044 A.D. as this is when George left the monastery (M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Georgischen Literatur* [1955]: 171). For further information on George the Hagorite see M. Brière 'Lettres georgiennes chretiennes' (1957): 84-5; P. Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes' (1917-1919): 69-74.

³⁰⁵ This is assigned the letter M by Volk, no. 151 and is from the Modification B group. It is dated by Volk to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

³⁰⁶ See D.M. Lang, 'Introduction' (1967): xxviii.

that George was not as ‘original’ as Euthymius: George completed works left unfinished by Euthymius, and was much more meticulous in his translations than Euthymius was.³⁰⁷ Furthermore, the existence of a manuscript dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century and classified by Volk within Modification C³⁰⁸ leads us to conclude that George the Hagorite cannot be the redactor of *B&I*.

If either Symeon Metaphrastes or George the Hagorite did complete a literary redaction, embellishing and polishing the newly translated Greek text, what did the text look like before this? It is entirely possible that Euthymius translated the Georgian into Greek metaphrastically. This would mean that the differences found in the comparison above were created by the redactor.³⁰⁹ The improvements include the insertion of Bible passages; quotes from classical authors and church fathers; ‘On Holy Images’, a document by St. John of Damascus,³¹⁰ and the defence of Nachor: the *Apology of Aristides*.³¹¹ The idea that Euthymius translated the Georgian into Greek and completed his own redactions (whether these were re-arrangements of content, or such as to produce the text as we now have it) is plausible. However, nothing further can be said on this as the only texts we have are the finished Georgian version of the *Balavariani* and the Greek finished versions of *B&I*; there is no known intermediate, metaphrastic Greek translation of the Georgian.

What problems arise when we attribute authorship to Euthymius? The three manuscripts that ascribe *B&I* to him are of two different modifications. The Latin version of the text is from Modification A, whereas the two Greek manuscripts are from Modification B. The older of these Greek manuscripts, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. gr. VII, 26, contains a *lemma* we believe to have been written by George the

³⁰⁷ R.P. Blake, ‘Georgian theological Literature’ (1924): 58. It has been suggested by Dölger, and others who assert alternative authorship theorems, that George has planted the information that Euthymius was the translator of *B&I*. However, what would George and Euthymius gain, in pretending that Euthymius translated the work? Euthymius had already produced dozens of other works. See D.M. Lang, ‘St. Euthymius’ (1955): 312.

³⁰⁸ Which is Athens Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος 330 (olim Kloster Dusiku in Thessalien), fol. 19^r – 193^v and 195^r – 200^v (Volk, no. 6), see above for more information on the different manuscripts which we have access to.

³⁰⁹ See chapter 1.A.i.3.c of this study.

³¹⁰ K. Ikegami, *Barlaam and Josaphat* (1999): 24. We know this because it is not in the Georgian version of the text.

³¹¹ ‘On Holy Images’ does not appear in the Georgian version of the novel. See D.M. Lang, *Balavariani* (1966): 137–41 for the *Life of the Blessed Iodasaph* version of Nakhor’s (Nakhor in the Greek) speech. This is still a defence of the Christians, but is not as long as the *Apology* and is more centred towards Iodasaph’s snare which Nakhor cannot escape from.

Hagorite. However, this is not the original *lemma*; the original has been wiped out in favour of the Euthymius title.³¹² The other Greek manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Cod. gr. 1771 is of the fourteenth century, but despite its date, it offers a good translation of the *B&I* text.³¹³ We must reiterate what Pouderon says regarding the transmission of *lemmata*: the *lemma* of a book can be of a different transmission than the text itself.³¹⁴ Therefore, even though the Greek manuscripts are of a different modification than the Latin manuscript, that in itself does not mean Euthymius was not the translator of the Georgian text.

It appears more logical for the translator of *B&I* to be Euthymius than John of Damascus, or even John the monk. If we accept this assumption, then given that Euthymius was accustomed to translate texts and not to embellish them, we must conclude there was also a redactor. However, the nature of the redactor is still not clear, and we must conclude that the redactor remains unknown. Is there any additional information we can glean from the purpose and audience of the *B&I* novel?

iv) Purpose and Audience

We have seen how the text of *B&I* has come into our hands today, and how the text has changed from one recension to another. We have also explored its authorship and date. Next, we need to enquire as to the purpose of this, by now very Christian, text that was once the *Life of Buddha*. Let us expound the historical information contained within the novel and explore whether this gives any detail as to either purpose or audience. If the Syriac recension of *B&I* did exist, and was the first Christian version, then it was necessary to ‘suppress the legend of the implanting of Christianity in India by the Apostle Thomas, the enlightener of the Syrians’.³¹⁵ The same, however, can be said for the Greek version. The Georgian contains no mention of the Apostle Thomas, whereas the Greek mentions him ‘preaching the Gospel of Salvation’. The first thing we learn from this is that the legend of Thomas going to India was not well known, as the

³¹² R. Volk ‘Urtext und Modifikation’ (1993-4): 459-60. This is one of the reasons why Dölger struggled with attributing authorship to Euthymius (See F. Dölger, *Barlaam-Roman* [1953]: 21). See also A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1189.

³¹³ See R. Volk ‘Urtext und Modifikation’ (1993-4): 460 and R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 421-4.

³¹⁴ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 124.

³¹⁵ See K.S. Kekelidze, ‘The Balavar romance in Christian literature’ (1960): 41-71.

translator from either the Syriac or the Arabic into the Georgian neither translated it from the previous version, nor knew of the legend in order to insert it into the Christianised Georgian text. The second thing we learn is that Thomas was not successful in converting the whole of the land of the Indians. All the fame and glory of this accomplishment goes to Barlaam and, more especially, to Ioasaph. However, if Barlaam and Ioasaph were meant to have converted India to Christianity ‘at some vaguely defined period of historical antiquity’,³¹⁶ why is it that we only know of them in this text? We must accept the possibility that neither Barlaam nor Ioasaph existed. At no point in the *Balavariani* does it ‘tell the story of the champions of the Christian religion’ who went about India at a specific moment of history, and give a full account ‘of the country’s conversion to Christianity’.³¹⁷ Abuladze remarks that such a defining moment in a country’s history, that of its conversion to Christianity, would have been one of great pride, one that the country would commemorate with a hagiography of the individual credited with bringing about that momentous change. Nevertheless, the history of India, or Ethiopia for that matter, contains no such hagiography, even though we have a text such as the Greek *B&I* which explicitly names two people, first Thomas and later Ioasaph, who came into India and started converting the country to Christianity. We can therefore conclude that this Greek text of *B&I* was not received by an Indian audience.

Therefore, *B&I* seems to be promoting two characters whose existence is questionable. The novel also discusses a cause that has long been disputed and settled, that of polytheistic religions and the worship of idols. The very core of the *B&I* narrative comes down to the content of the *Apology*, and we must wonder whether the redactor of *B&I* had in mind the *Apology* as the nucleus and crux of the novel.³¹⁸

The *B&I* novel provides a well rounded apologetic for Christianity, and the ascetic wing of Christianity in particular. While this defence of the ascetic Christian faith is more prominent in the *Balavariani*, the Greek does to some extent put forward and support the ascetic wing of Christian living. We have seen in the text comparison between the Georgian and the Greek the extent to which the Greek version of *B&I* has

³¹⁶ D.M. Lang, *Balavariani* (1966): 9.

³¹⁷ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 19.

³¹⁸ P. Bádenas, ‘la Historia de Barlaam y Josafat’ (1996): 219; T. Bräm, ‘Le Roman’ (1994): 63; J. R. Harris, ‘A New Christian Apology’ (1923): 357.

been changed and adapted. In the Greek version ‘every thesis, every statement of a theological or dogmatic character is accompanied by extracts or quotations from the Bible and other religious sources and philosophical sources.’³¹⁹ Such content does not appear in the Georgian version. We can conclude therefore that the Greek version of *B&I* is a well rounded text. Its popularity is shown by how swiftly the Greek *B&I* was translated into Latin, as well as a number of other languages. The Greek text, as we have mentioned, can be described as a novel aimed at Christians. Furthermore, in light of the additional content in the Greek *B&I*, we can say that the Greek *B&I* could have been aimed at non-Christians. The Greek novel takes the reader through the Christian faith, from its origins in the Old Testament, to who Jesus was, and to dogmatic statements. This is then supported with Barlaam’s direction on how Ioasaph must live his life. The Greek text of *B&I* could be described as a manual for Christian novices, aimed at promoting the triumph of Christianity.³²⁰

B) *Aristides’ Apology*

i) Greek Text

The earliest manuscripts of the *Apology* are represented in three Greek fragments. The first two fragments, P.Oxyrhynchus XV 1778³²¹ and P.Heidelberg inv. G 1013,³²² originate from the same manuscript and have been badly preserved. This manuscript covers (with lacunae) *Apology* 4.3 - 6.2. The third fragment is P.London 223 (olim inv. 2486), covering *Apology* 15.4 - 16.2.³²³ The manuscript ‘consists of a complete sheet forming two leaves of a codex’³²⁴ with one leaf containing the *Apology* and the other leaf containing a selected passage from *Song of Songs* 5:12-6:10. Both manuscripts are

³¹⁹ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 8.

³²⁰ A. Kazhdan, ‘Where, when and by whom’ (1993): 1206-7.

³²¹ B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1922): 1-6.

³²² D. Hagedorn, ‘Ein neues Fragment zu P.Oxy. XV 1778’ (2000): 40-4. This manuscript henceforth shall be known as Π₁.

³²³ A. D’Alès, ‘L’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1924): 354-9 thinks the manuscript originated from Oxyrhynchus.

³²⁴ H.J.M. Milne, ‘Apology of Aristides’ (1924): 73. Henceforth, this manuscript shall be referred to as Π₂.

dated to the fourth century.³²⁵ We shall not reiterate the manuscript tradition of the *Apology* as it features in *B&I*.³²⁶ See chapter 1.A.i.3.b of this study for a reminder of that manuscript tradition. The Greek version is slightly different from the Syriac and Armenian versions, in that chapters 1 and 2 of the Greek are shorter than the Syriac and Armenian, and chapters 14 and 15 are longer than the Syriac version. This is because chapter 2 of the Syriac and Armenian discusses the Jews and Christians in greater depth than the Greek version.³²⁷ See appendix two for a comparison of the five different versions of the *Apology*, and appendix three for a comparison of the Jewish and Christian chapters, to gain an understanding of what the Greek translator and redactor has done differently compared to the Syriac and Armenian translators and redactors.

ii) The Syriac Text

The *Apology of Aristides* exists in its ‘entirety’ only in Syriac, derived from a single manuscript, Codex Sinaiticus syr. S. Catherine. 16,³²⁸ dated to the late sixth – seventh³²⁹ century, a stand alone text, as no Syriac version of the *B&I* is extant, as mentioned before. If a previous Syriac recension of *B&I* had been brought into existence around the middle of the seventh century, as hypothetically proposed by Kekelidze and discussed in chapter 1.A.i.2.a of this study, then this would coincidentally fall into the dating of the Syriac manuscript of the *Apology*.³³⁰ If the Syriac recension of *B&I* did exist, then this may potentially explain where the Greek version of the *Apology* came from: that is, the Greek *Apology* was translated with the rest of *B&I*, which relied upon

³²⁵ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 107-10. The French scholars take this from B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, D. Hagedorn and H.J.M. Milne. See also C. Alpignano, ‘L’Apologia di Aristide’ (1986): 332-57; A. D’Alès, ‘L’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1924): 354-9; G. Krüger, ‘Aristides Apologie 15,6-16, 12’ (1924): 47-8.

³²⁶ The most recent critical edition of the *Apology* is by B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Aristides Apologie* (2003). The editors however did not include all *B&I* manuscripts which contained the Greek *Apology*. In more recent years, R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006) and (2009) has produced the most in depth hagiographical work on *B&I*. Because the *Apology* features in *B&I*, this hagiographical work is the most detailed critical edition which we must use to study the *B&I* version of the *Apology*.

³²⁷ See R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 3; E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 56; R. Seeberg, ‘Die Apologie’ (1891): 947-8.

³²⁸ See J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 3-6 for a description of the manuscript condition.

³²⁹ J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 4 suggest the seventh century, which B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 137 agree with. E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 45 thinks the Syriac originates from the second half of the sixth century.

³³⁰ I.V. Abuladze, ‘Introduction’ (1966): 18.

the Syriac *B&I*, which included the *Apology*. However, as we will soon discuss in greater depth, it is unlikely that the Greek recension of the *Apology*, as it appears in *B&I*, relied upon such an assumed Syriac version. This means that if there was a Syriac version of *B&I*,³³¹ and it included the *Apology*, then it would have been a completely different recension of the *Apology* than the one that appears in the Greek version. This, however, speaks against the existence not only of the Syriac *B&I*, but also – in case one were still to assume such a text – against the existence of the *Apology* in such a hypothetical text, which would go against the assumption that the assumed parent Syriac version of the Greek *B&I* contained the *Apology*.

The Syriac version of the *Apology*, as we have it today, is presumably a translation from Greek, probably made in Syria during the fourth or fifth century.³³²

iii) The Armenian Version

The first two chapters of the *Apology* are preserved in an Armenian anthology, with the oldest manuscript,³³³ dated to the year 981 A.D. and three further existing manuscripts.³³⁴ The published codex includes a Latin parallel translation of the

³³¹ Which is, hypothetically, the first Christian recension.

³³² See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 138. The Syriac's doctrine on God and his providence is very stoic in nature. See J.R. Harris, 'The Sources of Barlaam' (1925):121. See also J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 34-41 who compares the language in chapter 1 of the *Apology* to other second century texts.

³³³ Cod. Erevan, Matenadaran 2679, fol. 154^v-155^v.

³³⁴ The three other Armenian manuscripts are: Cod. Venice, San Lazzaro 218 (Library Catalogue no. 739), which is an 1835 copy of Matenadaran 2679, as well as Cod. Erevan, Matenadaran 4381 and 6228 which are both further copies of Matenadaran 2679, which have not been dated. See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 141. 'In 1878 the monks of the Armenian Lazarist monastery in Venice - the Mecharitarists - published some old fragments of the *Apology*' (R.L. Wolff, 'Apology of Aristides' [1937]: 240). These fragments are what we have to date. See Patres Mechitaristes congregationis Sancti Lazari, *Sancti Aristidis philosophi Atheniensis* (1878).

Armenian, along with a homily ascribed to Aristides.³³⁵ The Armenian translation of the text perhaps goes back to the fifth century A.D..³³⁶

A. Harnack regarded the Armenian version to be the least reliable manuscript tradition.³³⁷ As we will see below, however, the Armenian provides us with some valuable readings.³³⁸

iv) The *Apology*'s Stemma

The *Apology of Aristides* was clearly known in the fourth century, but for some it was no longer accessible, as has been shown by Eusebius' lack of knowledge of the text.³³⁹ The *Apology* has come down to us in versions that differ so considerably that the latest editors of the *Apology*, Pouderon and Pierre, have not attempted to merge them into one text. This is something previous editors have tried to do in an attempt to reconstruct what according to them the 'original' *Apology* would have looked like. As the most recent edition by Pouderon and Pierre reveals, such early attempts have failed, due to

³³⁵ See J.P.P. Martin, *Analecta sacra* (1883): 8-10, 284-6 for a Latin translation of the Armenian sermon. Scholars do not attribute this to Aristides. This is partly because Greek church literature has nothing which resembles the Armenian homily. See P. Pape, *Aristides* (1894): 6, 20, 34; A. Harnack, 'Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologten' (1883): 114.

³³⁶ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 140; J.-P. Mahé, 'Tradition arménienne' (1989): 367; P. Pape, *Aristides* (1894): 6; A. Harnack, *Geschichte* (1893): 97; A. Harnack, 'Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologten' (1883): 110-2. As mentioned above, Donna Rizk, a fellow PhD student at King's College London, is looking into the Armenian tradition of the *Apology*. Until now scholars have given the dating without showing any proof, or providing any explanation. Scholars have noted the language and theology of the Armenian fragments as 'Orthodox' in nature. See O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, Erster Band (1902): 200-1; P. Pape, *Aristides* (1894): 21-9; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 18-9; F. von Himpel, 'Das Fragment der Apologie' (1880): 109-27; H. Doucet, 'L'Épître a Diognète' (1880): 602. See also E. Renan *L'Église chrétienne* (1879): 6.

In addition to the Greek fragments, Greek *B&I*, Syriac and Armenian versions, there is also a well documented reception of the *Apology* in Georgian martyrologies, especially in the *Martyrdom and Passion of Eustatius of Mzcheta* (see B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* [2003]: 421-32; A. Harnack, 'Eustatius von Mzchetha' [1901]: 875-902). All the versions have been judged to be relatively accurate (with the exception of the Georgian martyrological tradition, see the list in C. Vona, *L'Apologia* [1950]), and to provide us with 'tolerably close' renderings. (H.J.M. Milne, 'A New Fragment' [1924]: 75).

³³⁷ See A. Harnack, 'J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson: a review' (1891): 307.

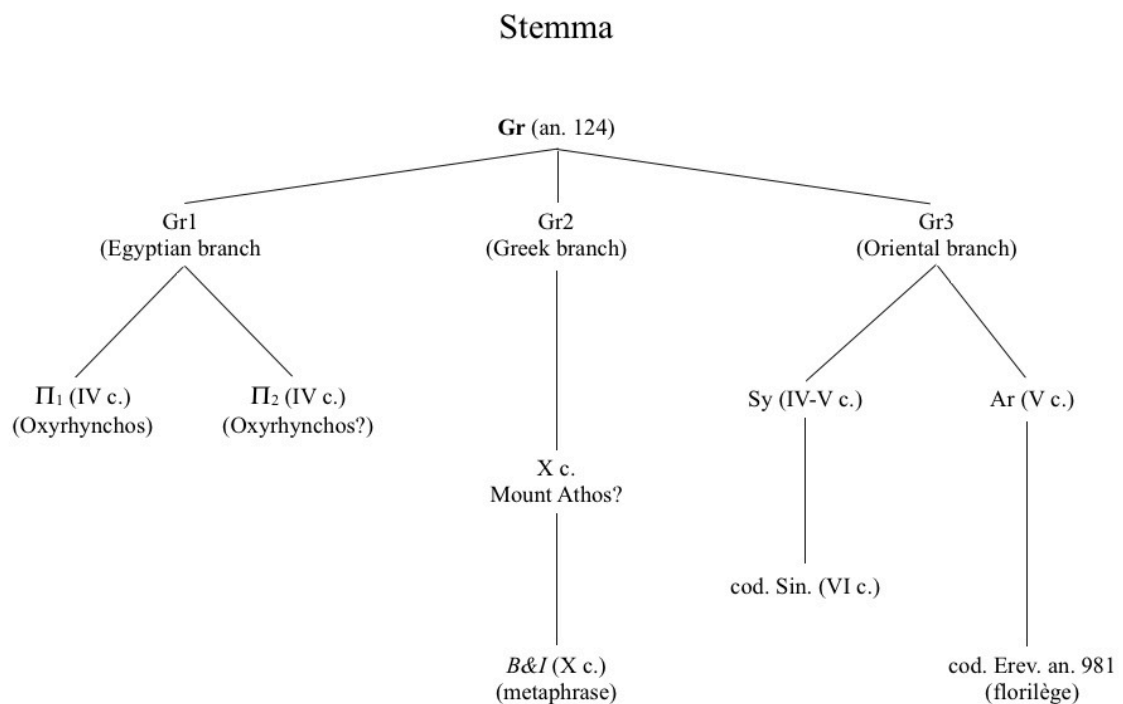
³³⁸ See J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): xxxiv.

³³⁹ F. Hasse, 'Der Adressat' (1917/8): 429 claims the *Apology* 'stands firmly' in church history. K.-G. Essig, 'Erwägungen' (1986): 166-7 assesses whether the text of the *Apology* is historically locatable in church history. Although we may be able to place the *Apology* within church history, we cannot assert the contents of the *Apology* to be 'original'.

E.J. Goodspeed, *Early Christian Literature* (1942): 137-8; P. Pape, *Aristides* (1894): 5 both claim the *Apology* is 'current' in the fourth century. However this claim is false as Eusebius does not discuss the *Apology* in any depth: he does not contain any detailed discussion on either the author or the *Apology*, just a brief abstract on Aristides as a philosopher. Jerome based his information on Eusebius and does not provide us with any more additional information. See A. Neppi Modona, 'Aristide' (1922): 318. I must agree with K.-G. Essig, 'Erwägungen' (1986): 187 who states the early church knew next to nothing about Aristides. Eusebius' ignorance of Aristides is now an old commonplace.

the complex nature of recreating an ‘original’ text from much later versions in a variety of languages that differ from each other considerably.³⁴⁰ Unfortunately however, with providing the same work as separated traditions, overlaps and differences between the different versions of the *Apology* can hardly be traced by the contemporary readers.³⁴¹ The *Apology*, originally written in Greek, contains ‘significant problems with regards to its transmission and text criticism’.³⁴² Only if light were to be cast on the overlaps and differences between the different versions, could we gain a greater understanding of the authenticity of one version compared to others.

The three papyri fragments, the Syrian and Armenian versions and the Greek *B&I*³⁴³ version of the *Apology*, have been put into the following stemma, according to the latest critical edition by Pouderon and Pierre.³⁴⁴



³⁴⁰ Qualitative data is used to suggest that the Syriac is more ‘true’ to the original, however, this is a circular conclusion, as the lack of an ‘Urfassung’ makes any such reasoning doubtful. Further, trying to reconstruct the text of the *Apology* by filling out the gaps in the Greek with a German translation of the Syriac is problematic too, see J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907)1-27; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894).

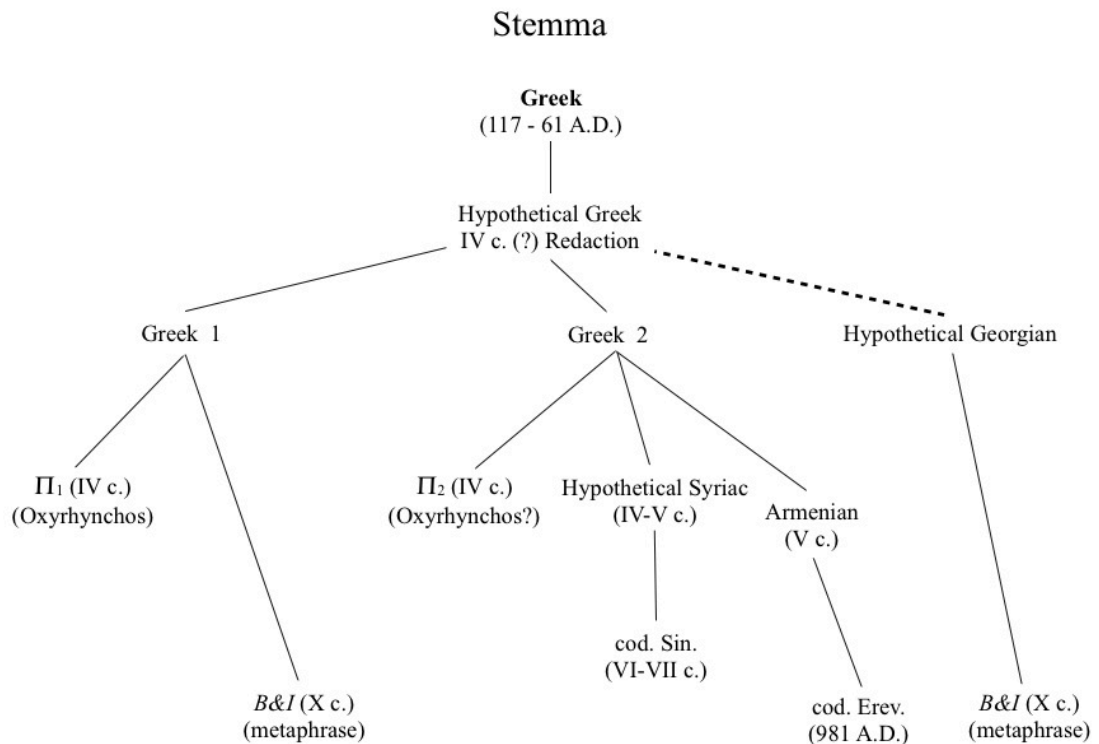
³⁴¹ See appendix two.

³⁴² W. Kinzig, *Novitas Christiana* (1994): 147.

³⁴³ Note that the latest editors do not include the Georgian martyrological texts in the *stemma*.

³⁴⁴ See the latest survey and study in B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 32-180, with the *stemma* taken from 172.

The *stemma* of Pouderon and Pierre is a little surprising after what we have said in the previous section. It makes the Greek tradition not only standing out as the basis of all traditions, but more importantly, it falsely insinuates as if this Greek origin has been somehow preserved in direct line in the middle section that allows us to trace back their Gr2 of the Greek branch. If this were so – and this provides the misleading basis for current research on the *Apology* – we would have a rather reliable witness in the Greek *B&I* tradition from the tenth century. However, as we have seen, the direct line, as pointed out in the centre of this *stemma*, is fiction. Instead, the *stemma* that results from our discussion (both above and below this discussion)³⁴⁵ should look as follows:



The foremost difference between my stemma and Pouderon and Pierre's, is that the manuscripts are not split up into geographical location. The textual traditions have been split up into two Greek strands with a hypothetical third Georgian strand. All of these stem from a possible fourth century redaction of the *Apology*. This conclusion has been drawn from the clear theological language which is present in all the different versions

³⁴⁵ In particularly, see chapter 3 of this thesis where we discuss the Greek fragments in further depth.

of the *Apology*. Furthermore, this theological language (which is predominantly found in chapters 14 to 17 of the *Apology*) is at times parallel with other versions of the *Apology*, namely the Greek *B&I* and Syriac versions, but this can also be seen in Π_2 . Chapter 3 of this study shows the closeness of the two manuscripts of P.Oxy and P.Heidel with the Greek *B&I*. Furthermore, chapter 3 of this study also shows how the P.London is a witness that belongs to the Syriac tradition which has been corrupted. There is a naive assumption made by Pouderon and Pierre that because yjr Papyrological evidence is the oldest version of the *Apology*, it is therefore the most true to what the ‘original’ *Apology* looked like. This assumption is false as it appears from the content of the *Apology* that there is a broad expansion (and possible restructuring) of the *Apology* before the fourth century, however the best stage we can reach with this stemma is the fourth century and hence attain a stage of the text which is more or less like *B&I* without the clear additions of the latter’s redactor. What happened to the *Apology* before the fourth century can only be guessed at the moment.

In the Greek 2 branch I have renamed the Syriac translation, as contained in Pouderon and Pierre’s stemma, of the fourth to fifth century as ‘hypothetical,’ although there does appear to be a Syriac translation which the Sinaiticus text was based upon. The reason being that there is *no* proof of a fourth to fifth century translation: just a logical conclusion and suggestion made by scholars.³⁴⁶ I have not however called the Armenian translation of the fifth century ‘hypothetical’ because of a fellow PhD student’s excellent work on the Armenian version.³⁴⁷ The third hypothetical Georgian branch is a deduction made from the following observations: the *B&I* parent text was itself in Georgian; furthermore we have an array of translations of the *Apology* which are located all over Europe – there is the Armenian, Syriac and Greek versions, with the Greek fragments originating from Egypt (as well as the Georgian Martyrologies). There is one piece of evidence which casts doubt on this hypothetical Georgian branch: the closeness between Π_1 and *B&I* version of the *Apology*. Let us return now to Pouderon and Pierre’s stemma, and the problems which we face with their conclusions.

³⁴⁶ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 138; J.R. Harris, ‘The Sources of Barlaam’ (1925): 121; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 34-41.

³⁴⁷ The Armenian version of the *Apology* contains early classical Armenian terminology that was used in the fifth century. This has been achieved through comparing the Armenian *Apology* with other fifth century Armenian works. Furthermore, some of the terminology strongly suggests the translator as being Eznik of Kolb. Although this is still to be early days with more research and avenues to explore, there is (at the present time) no other translator, or time period, which shows such comparisons to the Armenian *Apology* as Eznik’s work does.

Despite their *stemma*, which would underline the Greek witness of the *B&I* as the leading tradition for the *Apology*, Pouderon and Pierre agree with earlier scholars regarding the superiority of the Syriac text over the Greek. Although the Syriac contains some obvious changes to the texts,³⁴⁸ they hold fast to the statement first made by J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson:³⁴⁹ the Syriac is more ‘complete’ than the Greek text, and therefore the Syriac should be considered as the best witness to an ‘original’ text.³⁵⁰ This completeness refers not just to the length of the text, the Greek being roughly only two thirds of the length of the Syriac,³⁵¹ but also to the fact, as we will discover, that the Syriac offers supplements to the Greek.³⁵² They admit that the Syriac tradition cannot have been based on the Greek version of the *B&I* as the latter’s shorter sections 15.4 to 16.2 are too incomplete for the Syriac translator of the extant Syriac version to have relied on them. Conversely, there are a few notable exceptions where the *B&I* text

³⁴⁸ See above.

³⁴⁹ See J. H. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *The Apology of Aristides* (1891): 90.

³⁵⁰ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 150; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 5. See also J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 1-27. It is at this point that B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre discuss the issue of the four (or three) races, and try to show that the Syriac puts forward a much stronger case of four races of humanity, rather than the Greek three races. They discuss which term, ‘Barbarians’ or ‘Chaldeans,’ is more ‘original’, concluding the Syriac to be correct with the use of ‘Barbarian’ as opposed to ‘Chaldean’. They state ‘Chaldean’ is a term which refers to a cult who follow the stars and physical elements; this term does not appear in any other early Apologists with the exception of Theophilus of Antioch’s *Ad Autolyicum* 2.33. However the term ‘Barbarian’ to designate the worshipers of elements is strange but ‘is justified by the development of the Barbarians against the Greeks in antithesis with one another (something which the editors call ‘quite banal’ of the author to do so. Pouderon and Pierre then assert the Syriac to be closer to the ‘original’ *Apology*. See *ibid*: 154; E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ [1893]: 71-4; R. Seeberg, ‘Die Apologie’ [1891]: 950).

B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre contradict themselves: in comparison to the *Apologies* of Justin, the editors call the dedication of the Syriac to be ‘archaic’ (*Apologie* [2003]: 36). Previous to this statement, the editors take the Latin name of ‘Marcianus’ to be true (the inclusion of which is only preserved in the Syriac text. See *Apologie* [2003]: 29). A. Neppi Modona, ‘Aristide’ (1922): 319-20 also thinks Marcianus to be original. J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 17 link the name ‘Marcianus’ to the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*. M. Vinzent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (2014): 241; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 29 thinks the Marcianus name is suspicious. We will soon see how the internal evidence does not ‘give an indication for a fixed chronological placing’ (K.-G. Essig, ‘Erwägungen zum geschichtlichen’ [1986]: 185) of the *Apology* text. This is because of the array of different theological ideas located within the *Apology*.

For a discussion on the Syriac address see R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists* (1988): 38-9; as well as M. Vinzent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (2014): 241-3; C. Alpignano, *Aristide di Atene* (1988): 130; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 28-31; E. Egli, ‘Apologie des Aristides’ (1893): 99-103; E. Hennecke, ‘Rezension und Rekonstruktion’ (1893): 98-101; J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 17; R. Seeberg, ‘Die Apologie’ (1891): 935-6;.

³⁵¹ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 144. For an earlier comparison between the Syriac, Greek and Armenian see J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 70-80.

³⁵² See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 144-5 for instances where the Syriac supplements the Greek. See also J.A. Robinson, ‘Apology’ (1896): 32.

shows a development of ideas beyond what is found in the Syriac text, not taking into account the obvious interpolations by the Greek author of *B&I*.³⁵³

Pouderon and Pierre do also see relations between the papyri and the Syriac tradition with Π_2 to be closer to the Syriac text,³⁵⁴ although Π_1 too, at times, has some similarities to the Syriac, but also shows greater diversity than its counterpart Π_2 .³⁵⁵ Despite its relatively young age, as shown before, we are cautioned, not to discredit the text of the Greek *B&I* too quickly by adopting the readings from the papyrological witnesses. In this sense, Pouderon and Pierre themselves undermine their direct line of transmission of Gr2.

Moreover, Pouderon and Pierre describe how ‘in specific parts of the Syriac, the translator uses puns and alliteration that work only in their language’.³⁵⁶ This is particularly the case when we look at the philosophical term ‘nature’, which is used only three times in the Greek text, but twenty-one times in the Syriac.³⁵⁷ The Syriac translator clearly tends to adapt the text to his historical environment and culture.³⁵⁸

When we look at some of the comparisons presented by Pouderon and Pierre³⁵⁹ we can see that occasionally a parallel can be drawn between the Syriac version and Π_2 . There are however a number of cases where the translator of the Syriac differs from what we have in Π_2 (or vice versa), as he seems to ‘build on the basic text, either by glossing or adding phrases of its own’, as well as abbreviating³⁶⁰ some parts of the

³⁵³ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 149 for some of these development of ideas.

³⁵⁴ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 145 for suggestions where the Syriac and Π_2 are much closer than Π_2 and *B&I*. See also chapter 3.B of this study.

³⁵⁵ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 145-6 for some comparisons between the texts. More in chapter 3 below. A. Neppi Modona, ‘Aristide’ (1922): 327 thinks that with the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus fragment, we are still no closer to the ‘original’ Aristides: this is because of its fragmentation as well as its similarity to the Syriac and Greek.

³⁵⁶ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 139.

³⁵⁷ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre note that it ‘can be inferred that the Syriac redaction was made during a period when the Syriac word for ‘nature’ took a philosophical sense, that is to say when the theological discussion of divine and human ‘nature’ had become common. In a general way, the terms used are intended both to be more philosophical and more biblical than the Greek text, which can be attributed to a period of the Christian faith using precise terminology on the technicality of the Greek philosophical vocabulary’ (*Apologie* [2003]: 139).

³⁵⁸ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 146-7 who discuss the three different traditions of the *Apology* in chapter 15.6: *B&I*, Π_2 and Syriac, showing that *B&I* is a lot closer to Π_2 , whereas the Syriac has rephrased what the other two witnesses contain. Furthermore if we look at the differences between the gods of each text tradition, the Syriac has adapted the gods names for the text’s new environment (see B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* [2003]: 148).

³⁵⁹ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 147-8.

³⁶⁰ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 148.

text.³⁶¹ Although we cannot take Π_2 at face value as coming closer to the ‘original’, the Syriac seems to be an assimilation which shows typical regional influences.

Although scholars agree that all traditions have been reworked to some extent³⁶² and despite the above *stemma* seemingly giving preference to Gr2, Pouderon and Pierre with Harris and Robinson maintain that the Syriac version of the *Apology* is superior to all others, while, for example, Harnack preferred the Greek recension.³⁶³

Yet, even Robinson³⁶⁴ remained somehow critical of the Syriac tradition and presents a parallel case from *The Hypomnemata of Ambrose*, portions of which he saw contained in Pseudo-Justin’s *Cohortatio ad Graecos*: ‘The Syriac was frequently an abbreviation or a misunderstanding of the Greek.’³⁶⁵ Further, Otto remarks on how the Syriac translator of Justin Martyr’s work has altered and amplified his original so as almost to have produced a new work.³⁶⁶ And for Harris and Robinson, the Syriac version of the *Apology* ‘presents us with matter which has no counterpart’ in the Greek version. Nevertheless they go on to prove the authenticity of the Syriac by finding parallels in the *Preaching of Peter*, even if they hesitate to call the Greek ‘defective’.³⁶⁷ Ideas that are absent from the Greek version, but are found in the Syriac version, they see present in the *Preaching of Peter*: a) the worship of angels attributed to the Jews; b)

³⁶¹ For example: the translator ‘removes inconvenient passages about judging: especially the passage about the crime of the Jews (*Apology* 14.2), absent from Syriac, but present in both the *Apology* and metaphorase’ (i.e. chapter 7 of *B&I*). B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 148.

³⁶² See J.R. Harris, ‘Celsus’ (1921-2): 163; E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 51; M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 45.

³⁶³ Although Harnack agrees with Robinson in thinking that the Greek has gone through some changes in the seventh century. See A. Harnack, ‘J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson: a review’ (1891): 307; J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 79. Harnack saw the Armenian as the most inferior source (A. Harnack, ‘J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson: a review’ [1891]: 307).

³⁶⁴ Robinson starts his argument by stating that he would normally support a Greek recension. However he slowly attempts to prove the Greek *B&I*’s infidelity and concludes the Syriac should be assigned superiority.

³⁶⁵ J.R. Harris, ‘Celsus’ (1921-2): 175. C. Riedweg, *Ad Graecos de vera religione*, Volume 1 (1994): 217 notes some similarity between the Greek versions of *The Hypomnemata of Ambrose* 2.3 (which is the same as the syriac version of Pseudo-Justins’ *Orationes*) and *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 2.2. This is the only parallel between these two texts which Riedweg discusses and only notes in his appendices to ‘s[iehe] auch’ (see also) the other respective text (see *Ibid*, Volume 2: 659, 676). There remains no discussion from Riedweg on Robinson and Harris’ statement and the Syriac tradition.

³⁶⁶ J.C.T. von Otto, *Justini Philosophi* (1879): xxix. See also J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 72. Additionally, R. Raabe, ‘Die Apologie’ (1892): 1 thinks the Syriac translator has translated the text poorly.

³⁶⁷ J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 80. We must here suggest whether the translator had the *Apology* along with author second century sources (such as the *Preaching of Peter*) and placed some of these ideas from the second century sources into his Syriac translation?

J.R. Harris, ‘Celsus’ (1921-2): 163 attempts to prove that Celsus, in response to Aristide, used the Syriac version of the *Apology*.

the description of the Christians as a ‘new people’; c) the confession of the converted heathen; d) the attribution of Our Lord’s suffering to the Jews. Especially valuable are a) and c) in giving grounds for believing that the closing section of the Syriac version, which seems to them so curtailed in the Greek, is being regarded substantially as the writing of Aristides himself.³⁶⁸ This, along with some of the arguments that have been discussed above, are enough for Harris and Robinson to deem the Syriac the superior text.³⁶⁹

Harnack, however, was quick to respond to Harris and Robinson’s claim, as he considered the Greek version more trustworthy,³⁷⁰ and sought to explain the variations between the Syriac and Armenian by supposing the bases of both were from a remade Greek version.³⁷¹ Harnack believed Robinson³⁷² had judged the Greek text too ‘cheaply’, having been satisfied with looking at only two manuscripts for *B&I*, and failing to provide a better text recension of the Greek.³⁷³ Harnack judged the translation of the Syriac to be extremely poor, as the basis for Robinson’s argument was predominantly the parallels to the *Preaching of Peter*.³⁷⁴

With regards to the parenthood of the Armenian and Syriac texts, Pouderon and Pierre believe the two texts offer enough similarity³⁷⁵ between each other, that there is then the potential that either of the two versions have a similar parent manuscript, or that one tradition is dependant on the other. The French scholars give four reasons why they believe that the Syriac and Armenian traditions go back to the same parent. Both texts mention the same number of races, they have a similar development of the origin of Barbarians and Greeks, the position in the framing text is the same (chapter 2 in the

³⁶⁸ J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 90.

³⁶⁹ E.J. Goodspeed, *Early Christian Literature* (1942): 138 remained hopeful that a complete Greek version of the *Apology* (that is, a Greek version of the Syriac) will still be discovered.

³⁷⁰ Bräm thinks that the *Apology* has been inserted in its entirety. See T. Bräm, ‘Le Roman’ (1994): 63.

³⁷¹ A. Harnack, *Geschichte* (1893): 97. See also See F. Lauchert, ‘Über die Apologie des Aristide’ (1894): 290.

³⁷² J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 80.

³⁷³ A. Harnack, ‘J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson: a review’ (1891): 306.

³⁷⁴ A. Harnack, ‘J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson: a review’ (1891): 307. See also M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 16-7, 45.

³⁷⁵ See appendix 2 for my own text comparison. Furthermore see footnote 350 of this study for further similarities and differences between the Syriac and Armenian version of the *Apology*.

Syriac and Armenian, but chapters 14 and 15 in the Greek *B&I*,³⁷⁶ and finally they share an interpolation on the four elements, which is absent from the Greek *B&I*. There are some minor differences between the Syriac and Armenian text that are independent of *B&I*, as will be discussed below.³⁷⁷ These suggest that it is a translator or editor of the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology* who has made these minor changes. The arguments also shows that the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology* do not rely upon the Greek *B&I* version.

The second possibility is that the Armenian depends on the Syriac, or the Syriac on the Armenian. Pouderon and Pierre provide us with five cases where the Armenian is independent of the Syriac (some of which are also independent of the Greek *B&I*), and conclude that there are sections of the Armenian version of the *Apology* that compare to the Greek *B&I* version. This would lead us to conclude that the Armenian does not depend on the Syriac version.³⁷⁸ Finally, we move on to the discussion of the Syriac version of the *Apology* not depending directly on the Armenian. Pouderon and Pierre provide us with seven cases where the Syriac contains information that is not present within the Armenian version (as well as the Greek *B&I*, although there are two cases where the Greek does refer to the same ideas as the Syriac version, albeit later on in the text). The French scholars provide two strong cases which show the differences between the versions: The Syriac says that we must ‘fear God’, whereas the Armenian says that we should ‘worship and glorify only God’.³⁷⁹ Additionally, in the Syriac a connection is made between being called a Christian and ‘Christian excellence’, whereas in the Armenian and Greek the connection is between the name (Christian) and ‘the Christian preaching of Christ’s disciples’.³⁸⁰ There are two cases where we find some commonality between the Syriac text and *B&I* (which is independent of the Armenian

³⁷⁶ M. Picard, *L'apologie* (1892): 16 thinks the original order of the *Apology* is as it appears in the Armenian and Syriac version. He suggests the redactor of *B&I* has reworked the *Apology* as the translators of the Syriac and Armenian have no reason to change the formation of the text. I disagree and will discuss this in more detail below.

³⁷⁷ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 157.

³⁷⁸ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 158.

³⁷⁹ *Apology* 1.2.

³⁸⁰ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 159. Syriac 2.4, Armenian 2.4, Greek 15.2.

version).³⁸¹ This means that the Syriac could not have relied upon by the Armenian version of the *Apology*, as the Armenian does not contain elements that are present in both the Syriac and Greek versions of the text.³⁸²

It seems that the Syriac and Armenian could share a common source. Yet this still begs the question of whether this parent version was a second redacted Greek text of the 'original', or whether it was originally in Syriac or Armenian. Pouderon and Pierre produce a seven-page discourse, setting out the arguments on whether there was a Greek, Syriac or Armenian proto-version of the *Apology*.³⁸³ They note that it is impossible to come to a conclusion by means of comparing the different versions of the *Apology*. Only when they look to the theological vocabulary are they able to conclude that 'some words and phrases present in both the Greek text and the Armenian version are absent from the Syriac text - evidence that the Armenian does not depend on Syriac, but Greek'.³⁸⁴ There are, however, too many ideas absent from the Armenian and Syriac for the Greek version of *B&I* to be their source. Pouderon and Pierre reach the conclusion that:

in a comparative study of the three texts, the Armenian is more complete, especially in comparison to the extensive Syriac. Furthermore the Armenian follows more closely the original text 'to which it had direct access.' They say that

In favour of the hypothesis of a Syriac prototype, there remains a possibility, as we have already mentioned: that Syriac and Armenian both depend on a lost Syriac intermediary (the proto-Syriac), close enough to the original Greek text for the Armenian version to appear to have been derived directly from the Greek, and not from that first Syriac version. That hypothesis is not to be excluded, but it raises the problem of the existence of two successive Syriac versions, created shortly after one another, and even one based on the other (the only way to summarise the similarities which link the Syriac and

³⁸¹ That is chapter 1.2 of the Syriac (as well as chapter 13.3). This has a similarity to *B&I* 13.2-3: that God is not composed of members and parts. Additionally Syriac 2.4 is comparable to chapter 15.1 in *B&I*: the passion of Jesus' realised Divine Economy.

³⁸² We may additionally note that the independence of the Syriac, with respect to the Armenian, lies most predominantly in the address of the *Apology*. See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 160.

³⁸³ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 162-9.

³⁸⁴ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 166. E. Hennecke, 'Aristides-Apologie' (1893): 61. F. Lauchert, 'Über die Apologie des Aristides' (1894): 288; J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 75.

Armenian texts). As it is difficult to see the interest a repetition would have, we cannot hold to this hypothesis, which has nothing to sufficiently back it up.

The only hypothesis for Pouderon and Pierre which remains conceivable is that the Greek text is the source for the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology*. Nevertheless it is difficult to attribute the original text to a particular version. This ‘leads us to believe that a branch of the Greek text has become separated from the common stem after having been enlarged by that interpolation, so as to finally result in the two Syriac and Armenian versions in the form in which they have been preserved to us.’³⁸⁵

The French scholars conclude that there are three branches of the *Apology*, each based on a different Greek source. The Syriac translation has not been subject to the same ‘scruples’³⁸⁶ as the other versions may have been; for example, the Armenian is much more detailed. The Syriac version, for Pouderon and Pierre, ‘offers the most faithful reflection’ of the *Apology* and is therefore ‘more suggestive of what could be the original *Apology*’.³⁸⁷

And yet, scholars like D. Hagedorn see that ‘both textual traditions [scil. the Syriac and the Armenian] have their positives’,³⁸⁸ while already Geffcken had shown that also the Syriac was a heavily reworked version.³⁸⁹ Finally, the comparisons by Pouderon and Pierre demonstrate that none of the versions of the *Apology* can claim authenticity as they stand, which therefore means we cannot exclude any of them from our comparison.³⁹⁰

v) Latin Text

The manuscript Naples Cod. B. N. VIII.B.10, dated to the fourteenth century,³⁹¹ will be used as the basis of our discussion of the *Apology*. As previously seen, this Naples

³⁸⁵ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 169.

³⁸⁶ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 169.

³⁸⁷ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 171.

³⁸⁸ D. Hagedorn, ‘Ein neues Fragment’ (2000): 40.

³⁸⁹ See J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): xxxvi.

³⁹⁰ With the exception of the Georgian Martyrologies because of their relatively young age.

³⁹¹ J.M. Gázquez, *Hystoria Barlae et Iosaphat* (1997); R. Volk, ‘Urtext und Modifikationen’ (1993-4): 459.

manuscript was the result of a direct translation from the Greek version of *B&I* in 1048 A.D.. It is purely out of comparative interest that we seek to determine how the Latin version of the *Apology* has been changed or adapted in translation. Additionally, no work has been produced on the Latin version of the *Apology*, nor on the Latin *B&I* so far. It is worthwhile to add the Naples manuscript to our discussion in the hope that this will stand as a basis for further work that needs to be done.

Chapter 2: The Relation Between The *Apology* and *B&I*

In the previous chapter, we explored the textual tradition of *B&I* and the *Apology*, as well as the questions of authorship, content, language and audience of *B&I*. With the information gathered in that chapter we can begin to reflect more deeply on the nature of the Greek *Apology* and its relation to *B&I*. The first problem we face is the embeddedness of the *Apology* in the novel. If taken to the extreme, we would need to reckon with the possibility that the redactor of *B&I* has altered the integrated text of the *Apology* to such an extent that no impact on *B&I* would be discernible. However, this position might not be tenable, because even if the language of the *Apology* did not impact on *B&I*, the content would have done, given the prominence the *Apology* has in the narrative structure of the *B&I* as shown before.

The Greek text of the *Apology* represents the longer recension of the *Apology*, preserved in *B&I*, and finds its parallel in the Syriac version, supported by three Greek fragments. For the first two chapters, we can also compare the short recension, given by the Armenian tradition. Little research has been undertaken into the history of the text reception of the *Apology*, or on the redaction of the *Apology* as it has been made part of *B&I*. Similarly, more has to be said about the impact of the *Apology* on *B&I*. The first observation is, of course, the inclusion of the 17 chapters of the *Apology* in chapter 27 of *B&I*. In addition, scholars have pointed out that specific parts of *B&I*, beyond chapter 27, have been impacted by the *Apology*.³⁹² This is especially noticeable for chapter 7, and less so for chapter 31 of *B&I*. Pouderon and Pierre are not surprised that the redactor of *B&I* has inserted into chapter 7 ideas comparable to those in the *Apology*.³⁹³ However, neither Pouderon and Pierre, nor others before them, discuss in any depth the extent to which the *Apology* is used by the Greek redactor, beyond its insertion into *B&I*.³⁹⁴ It is necessary to ask whether the small sections of the *Apology* that appear in chapters 7 and 31 of *B&I* have been metaphrastically inserted or even paraphrased. Similarly, we need to explore whether the *Apology* has had an impact upon the language and content of *B&I* beyond those passages.

³⁹² R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2009): 122; B. Pouderon, 'd'Apol. 14.2 Ba' (2001): 77-9.

³⁹³ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 146.

³⁹⁴ This is because previous scholars are focused on comparing the *Apology* to other second century texts; or proving which version of the *Apology* is the closest to the 'original' *Apology*; or proving which address appears to be correct. On these see the introduction above.

The second question that needs to be addressed is whether the redactor of *B&I* has changed the language and content of the *Apology*. And the first question to ask is, in which language had the redactor of the *B&I* the *Apology* at hand? Was it a Greek text, was it, as for the rest of the *B&I* a Georgian text? For the latter would speak that the translator who rendered the *B&I* from Georgian into Greek was of Georgian background and that, as mentioned before, the *Apology* has also left traces in the Georgian martyrologies. Unfortunately, this question had never been asked, as all scholars assumed that the *Apology* as can be found in the *B&I* was a Greek text, inserted into the *B&I*. And yet, an accomplished translator who was capable of rendering texts from Greek into Georgian and from Georgian into Greek would have been capable not only to translate and perhaps redact the entire *B&I* from Georgian into Greek, but also added material. Yet, as we will see from the comparison between the Greek papyri and the Greek text of the *Apology* in the *B&I*, it is undeniable that the redactor of the *B&I* had in front of him a more or less well preserved copy of the longer recension of the *Apology* in the Greek language. It results from this that the translator and redactor (if they were the same) not only translated the Georgian novel into Greek, he also added genuinely Greek material, in order to re-write the novel and give it a specifically Christian new character.

Some scholars have claimed that the redactor has changed the *Apology* from something that resembled the Syriac version to the Greek version we now know. And this seems not too far fetched, as both versions represent the same longer recension. In addition, the hypothesis that the redactor of *B&I* has ‘pruned away’ unnecessary details of the *Apology* has a *prima facie* probability.³⁹⁵ Harnack, who supports the Greek version as the most faithful witness to an ‘original’ *Apology*, supposes the redactor of *B&I* has ‘made some shortenings, as they seemed to fit him for his own purposes and also made some additions’.³⁹⁶ There have been no scholarly studies, and only very little

³⁹⁵ J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 71. See also J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 67-8; A. D’Alès, ‘L’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1924): 354; M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 16. In my opinion, this has been the failing of scholarship as no scholar has addressed this one hundred year problem. Some scholars (such as Raabe, Hennecke, Harris and Robinson, see below) have discussed some of these issues, but no detailed study has been undertaken to address this question.

³⁹⁶ A. Harnack, *Geschichte* (1893): 97. It has been suggested by E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (1914): 19; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 22; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 208-9 that the displacement of the contents of chapter 2 of the Syriac and Armenian into chapter 15 of the Greek is because of the redactor of *B&I*. J. Kaspar, ‘Aristides’ (1913): 16 thinks the religious experience content in chapters fourteen to sixteen are because of the redactor of *B&I*.

discussion, as to whether the redactor of *B&I* has changed the *Apology*, let alone, as mentioned, whether the Greek *Apology* derives from a Georgian version.

Raabe suggested that the opening sentences in the Syriac and Armenian contain philosophical notions that can safely be compared to the ‘philosophical train of thought at the time of the apologists’.³⁹⁷ The following year, Hennecke went further, declaring that the author of *B&I* no longer recognised the ‘prevailing notions’ of the *Apology* and that the overall conception of the *Apology* was compromised.³⁹⁸ Nevertheless, Hennecke noted a number of peculiar words within the Greek version, such as *παρεισάγειν*, *ματαιολογία*, and *πλάνη*, which suggested to him that these were part of an ‘original’ *Apology*.³⁹⁹ Hennecke adds that the scant discussion on the gods in the Greek appears more true to an original, and suspects the Syriac was translated from another Greek text that was a later redaction (and not the version we now have).⁴⁰⁰ Such aspects that suggest the redactor of *B&I* changed the *Apology*,⁴⁰¹ raise the question of the motivation of the redactor to making these changes. The reason why some scholars prefer the Syriac recension is that they doubt the redactor of *B&I* to have inserted the *Apology* faithfully: ‘A translator who, as such, has the duty to reproduce faithfully his original is *a priori* a better witness than a novelist who, instead of inventing an apologetic speech to a pagan king himself, inserts an old apology, thereby without any obligation to copy in terms of accuracy and completeness.’⁴⁰²

No one expected to discover the *Apology* within the eleventh century novel *B&I*, and it was only Harris’ discovery of the Syriac text that enabled Robinson to identify the

³⁹⁷ R. Raabe, ‘Die Apologie’ (1892): 26.

³⁹⁸ E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 52.

³⁹⁹ E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 58.

⁴⁰⁰ E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 114. E. Hennecke, *ibid.* 105, thinks that *παράγειν* has been inserted into the *Apology* by the redactor of *B&I*. *παράγειν* however is not used in *B&I* and is not used in any of the manuscripts in Volk’s critical edition. Hennecke does neither provide us with a reason, nor does he indicate which manuscript he is referring to in this assessment. Perhaps, Hennecke is referring to *παρεισάγω* which appears throughout the Greek *Apology* (seven times) however each use draws a parallel with the Syriac version. Further, it appears only twice (both occasions are independent and do not rely on an external source) outside of the *Apology* in *B&I* (chapter 9 and 24).

⁴⁰¹ I deem the evidence of scholars on this issue to be inadequate and challenge this claim.

⁴⁰² Th. Zahn, ‘Die Apologie des Aristides’ (1892): 3. F. Lauchert, ‘Über die Apologie des Aristides’ (1894): 291 thinks the original Greek can only be reconstructed using the Armenian and Syriac.

content of the *Apology* in *B&I*.⁴⁰³ For the redactor to have placed the *Apology* into *B&I*, what modifications would have been necessary? Robinson suggests four:

- 1) The king is of course addressed throughout: but this is so in the original piece. Only a short sentence at the end praises the wise choice of the king's son.
- 2) The fourfold division of humanity into Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians, was out of place in an Indian court. We find in its stead a triple division – worshippers of false gods, Jews and Christians: the first class is subdivided into Chaldeans, Greek and Egyptians, as being the ringleaders and teachers of heathenism to the rest of the world.
- 3) A short passage at the close, in which the Christians are defended from the foul charges so often brought against them in the first few days, was out of date and consequently has disappeared.
- 4) If we add to this that there are traces of compression here and there, and that the description of the Christians at the close is considerably curtailed, we have exhausted the list of substantial modifications which can with certainty be detected.⁴⁰⁴

We could add a fifth modification: the address. Notwithstanding the differing opinions about to whom the *Apology* was addressed, with the Syriac naming both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius and the Armenian stating it was addressed to Hadrian, we must assume that the Greek version would also have had an address. Even so, no address is given in the Greek version.

On the second of Robinson's observation, we have to note, however that in early Christendom a threefold structure, not a fourfold one, was preferred.⁴⁰⁵ His third point cannot be substantiated, as we do not know whether the passage was there in its *Vorlage*. However, let us take Robinson's third argument to be correct, and analyse other ideas within the *Apology* to assess whether differences between the versions have been caused by the redactor of *B&I*.

⁴⁰³ J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 71. Previous to Harris and Robinson's discovery, Zotenberg discusses the contents of the *Apology*, completely unaware of its origin and placement in *B&I*. See H. Zotenberg, 'Notice' (1887): 58-62.

⁴⁰⁴ J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 70.

⁴⁰⁵ J.R. Harris, 'Celsus' (1921-2): 166.

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
III	<p>ὥς δῆθεν μηδενὸς ἐφεστηκότος δεσπότη· ἄλλοι εἰμαρμένην εἰσηγήσαντο τῇ γενέσει τὸ πᾶν ἐπιτρέψαντες.</p> <p>Ἄλλοι <u>πολλοὺς θεοὺς</u> κακοὺς καὶ πολυπαθεῖς ἐσεβάσθησαν τοῦ ἔχειν</p> <p>αὐτοὺς τῶν ιδίων <u>παθῶν</u> καὶ δεινῶν πράξεων συνηγόρους·</p>	<p><i>παρεισάγοντες</i></p> <p><u>θεοὺς πολλοὺς</u></p> <p>γεγενῆσθαι,</p> <p>τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας, τοὺς δὲ θηλείας, παντοίων <u>παθῶν</u> καὶ παντοδαπῶν δημιουργοὺς ἀνομημάτων. (8.1)</p>	<p>in that they have introduced <i>many gods</i></p> <p>that are made; and some of them they have represented as male some of them as female (8.1)</p>
IV	<p><u>ὧν καὶ μορφώματα</u> τυπώσαντες ἀνεστήλωσαν ζόανα</p> <p><u>κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα</u> εἰδῶλα,</p>	<p><u>ὧν καὶ μορφώματά τινα</u> ποιήσαντες (3.1) ... καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν ποιοῦντες καὶ θεοποιούμενοι τὰ <u>κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα</u> εἰδῶλα. (13.1)</p>	<p><i>they made likenesses</i> (3.1) ... how thus they have gone astray after <i>dead idols and senseless images</i> (13.1)</p>
V	<p><u>συγκλείσαντές τε ἐν ναοῖς</u> προσεκύνησαν,</p>	<p>καὶ <u>συγκλείσαντες ναοῖς</u> προσκυνοῦσι (3.1)</p>	<p><i>and they enclosed them in temples</i> (3.1)</p>
VI	<p>λατρεύοντες τῇ <u>κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα</u>, οἱ μὲν τῷ <u>ἡλίῳ</u> καὶ</p> <p>τῇ <u>σελήνῃ</u> καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις, ἃ ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς πρὸς τὸ φαῦσιν παρέχειν τῷ περιγίῳ τούτῳ κόσμῳ,</p>	<p>καὶ ἤρξαντο σέβεσθαι τὴν <u>κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα</u> αὐτοῦς· ... <u>ἡλίου</u> τε καὶ <u>σελήνης</u> καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στοιχείων τε καὶ φωστήρων, (3.1 this section appears before the section above)</p>	<p><i>and they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them ...</i> (3.1) ... And in calculation then <i>sun</i> has a part with the rest of the stars in his course (6.1) ... and in like manner also <i>the moon and stars</i>. (6.2)</p>
VII	<p>ἄψυχὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀναίσθητα, τῇ <u>προνοίᾳ</u></p> <p>τοῦ <u>δημιουργοῦ</u></p> <p>φωτιζόμενά τε καὶ διακρατούμενα, οὐ μὴν δὲ οἰκοθὲν τι δυνάμενα,</p>	<p><u>προνοίᾳ</u> θεοῦ (1.1) ... γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων (15.3)</p>	<p>grace of God (1.1) ... For they know and believe in God, the <i>Maker</i> of heaven and earth, in whom are all things and from whom are all things (15.3)</p>

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
VIII	οἱ δὲ τῷ πυρὶ	Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. (5.2)	So too those have erred not a little who thought concerning <i>fire</i> that it is God. (5.2)
IX	καὶ τοῖς ὕδασι	Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν. (5.1)	And in like manner again have those erred who have thought concerning <i>water</i> that it is God. (5.1)
X	καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς <u>στοιχείοις</u> τῆς γῆς, ἀψύχοις – ὥς εἴρηται – καὶ ἀναισθήτοις οὖσι, καὶ οὐκ ἡσχύνθησαν οἱ ἔμψυχοι καὶ λογικοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σέβεσθαι.	Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Χαλδαῖοι μὴ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν ὁπίσω τῶν <u>στοιχείων</u> (3.1) ... καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ <u>στοιχεῖα</u> <i>φθαρτὰ ἐστίν</i> . (3.2) (as well as Chapters 4 and 7)	The Barbarians then, inasmuch as they did not comprehend God, erred with the <i>elements</i> (3.1) ... these very elements are corruptible and dissoluble (3.2)
XI	Ἄλλοι θηρίοις καὶ ἐρπετοῖς <u>καὶ</u> κτήνεσι τετραπόδοις τὸ σέβας ἀπένειμον, κτηνωδεστέρους τῶν σεβομένων ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύοντες.	ἄλλ' ἔτι <u>καὶ</u> ἄλογα ζῶα παρεισέγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἔνυδρα, (12.1)	<i>but they introduced also the nature of beasts</i> , and said concerning it that they were gods: and also of the creeping things which are found on dry land and in the waters, (12.1)

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
XII	<p>Οἱ δὲ <u>ἀνθρώπων</u> τινῶν αἰσχυρῶν <u>καὶ</u> εὐτελῶν <u>μορφώματα</u> ἀνετυπώσαντο</p> <p>καὶ τούτους <u>θεοὺς</u> <u>ἐκάλεσαν</u>,</p> <p>καὶ</p> <p>τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν <u>ἄρρενας</u>, <u>τινὰς δὲ</u> καὶ <u>θηλείας</u> ὠνόμασαν,</p>	<p>ᾧν <u>καὶ</u> <u>μορφώματά</u> τινα ποιήσαντες (3.1) ...</p> <p>Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸν <u>ἄνθρωπον</u> εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. (7.1) ... but also indicated by the Greek gods discussion: παρεισάγοντες <u>θεοὺς</u> πολλοὺς γεγενῆσθαι,</p> <p>τοὺς μὲν <u>ἄρρενας</u>, τοὺς δὲ <u>θηλείας</u>, παντοίων παθῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν δημιουργοὺς ἀνομημάτων. (8.1)</p>	<p>they made <i>likenesses</i> (3.1) ...</p> <p>But those who have thought concerning men of old, that some of them are gods, these have greatly erred (7.1)</p> <p>in that they have <i>introduced</i> many <i>gods</i> that are made; and some of them they have represented as <i>male</i> some of them as <i>female</i> (8.1)</p>

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
XIII	<p>οὓς αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξέθεντο</p> <p>μοιχοὺς εἶναι καὶ φονεῖς, ὀργίλους καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ θυμαντικούς, πατροκτόνους τε καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνους, κλέπτας καὶ ἄρπαγας,</p> <p>χωλοὺς καὶ κυλλοὺς καὶ φαρμακοὺς καὶ μαινομένους,</p> <p>καὶ τούτων τινὰς μὲν τετελευτηκότας, τινὰς δὲ κεκεραυνωμένους καὶ δεδουλευκότας ἄνθρώποις καὶ φυγάδας γενομένους καὶ κοπτομένους καὶ θρηνουμένους</p> <p>καὶ εἰς ζῶα μεταμορφουμένους ἐπὶ πονηραῖς καὶ αἰσχροῖς πράξεσιν.</p>	<p>οὓς αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξέθεντο</p> <p>μοιχοὺς εἶναι καὶ φονεῖς, ὀργίλους καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ θυμαντικούς, πατροκτόνους τε καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνους, κλέπτας καὶ ἄρπαγας,</p> <p>χωλοὺς καὶ κυλλοὺς καὶ φαρμακοὺς καὶ μαινομένους,</p> <p>καὶ τούτων τινὰς μὲν τετελευτηκότας, τινὰς δὲ κεκεραυνωμένους καὶ δεδουλευκότας ἄνθρώποις καὶ φυγάδας γενομένους καὶ κοπτομένους καὶ θρηνουμένους</p> <p>καὶ εἰς ζῶα μεταμορφουμένους ἐπὶ πονηραῖς καὶ αἰσχροῖς πράξεσιν. (8.1 extra)</p>	<p>and in such a way that some of their gods were found to be adulterers and murderers, and jealous and envious, and angry and passionate, and murderers of fathers, and thieves and plunderers. And they say that some of them were lame and maimed; and some of them wizards, and some of them utterly mad; and some of them played on harps; and some of them wandered on mountains: and some of them died outright; and some were struck by lightening, and some were stolen by men; and lo! some of them were wept and bewailed by men; and some, they say, went down to Hades; and some were sorely wounded, and some were changed into the likeness of beasts in order that they might commit adultery with the race of mortal women ... (the Syriac continues)</p>

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
XIV	<p>Ὅθεν λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφορμὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν ἀδεῶς κατεμιαίνοντο πάσῃ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ· καὶ δεινὴ κατεῖχε σκότωσις τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ συνίων, οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν. Ἀβραὰμ δέ τις ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ γενεᾷ μόνος εὐρέθη τὰς αἰσθήσεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρρωμένος ἔχων, ὃς τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῶν κτισμάτων ἐπέγνω τὸν δημιουργόν.</p> <p><u>Κατανοήσας γὰρ οὐρανόν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα,</u></p> <p><u>ἐθαύμασε τὴν ἐναρμόνιον διακόσμησιν ταύτην·</u></p> <p><u>ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντα</u> οὐκ αὐτομάτως γεγενῆσθαι καὶ συντηρεῖσθαι ἐνόμισεν,</p>	<p>καὶ θεωρήσας τὸν οὐρανόν, γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐθαύμασα τὴν διακόσμησιν τούτων.</p> <p>Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅτι κατὰ ἀνάγκην κινεῖται, συνῆκα τὸν κινοῦντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα εἶναι θεόν· (1.1)</p>	<p>and having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that he that moveth them is God who is hidden in them and concealed from them (1.1)</p>
XV	<p>οὔτε μὲν τοῖς στοιχείοις τῆς γῆς ἢ τοῖς ἀψύχοις εἰδώλοις τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τοιαύτης διακοσμήσεως προσανέθετο,</p>	<p>σέβονται γὰρ τὰ φθαρτὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται ταῦτα θεοποιούμενοι. (7.2)</p>	<p>serving elements subject to dissolution, and dead images: and on account of their error they do not perceive who is the true God. (7.2)</p>
XVI	<p>ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεόν διὰ τούτων ἐπέγνω, καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δημιουργόν τοῦ παντός καὶ συνοχέα συνῆκεν.</p>	<p>γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεόν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργόν τῶν ἀπάντων (15.3)</p>	<p>For they know and believe in God, the Maker of heaven and earth, in whom are all things and from whom are all things (15.3)</p>

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
XVII	... Φαραῶ τινι τυράννω <u>σημείοις καὶ τέρασι</u> φρικτοῖς καὶ ἐξαισίοις ἐξήγαγε ἐκεῖθεν διὰ <u>Μωσέως</u> καὶ Ἀαρών ...	Ἐξήγαγε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ διὰ <u>Μωσέως</u> τοῦ νομοθέτου αὐτῶν, καὶ <u>τέρασι</u> πολλοῖς καὶ <u>σημείοις</u> ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν. (14.2)	who removed from Syria and settled in Egypt, and there were called the race of the Hebrews by their <i>lawgiver</i> (2.2)
XVIII	... ἀλλ' <u>εὐδοκία</u> <u>τοῦ θεοῦ</u> καὶ πατὴρ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ...	Εἶτα ὡς <u>εὐδόκησεν</u> ὁ υἱὸς <u>τοῦ θεοῦ</u> ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (14.2)	

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
XIX	<p>... καὶ Μαρίας τῆς ἁγίας <u>παρθένου</u> καὶ θεοτόκου· οὐκ ἐκ <u>σπέρματος</u> ἀνδρὸς ἢ θελήματος ἢ συναφείας ἐν τῇ <u>ἀχράντῳ</u> μήτρᾳ τῆς παρθένου συλληφθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καθὼς καὶ πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως εἷς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἀπεστάλη μηνύων τῇ παρθένῳ τὴν ξένην σύλληψιν ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν ἄφραστον τόκον. <u>Ἀσπόρως</u> γὰρ συνελήφθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ συμπίξας ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς παρθένου <u>σάρκα</u> ἐψυχωμένην ψυχῇ λογικῇ τε καὶ νοερᾷ προῆλθεν ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει, δύο δὲ ταῖς φύσεσι, τέλειος θεὸς <u>καὶ</u> <u>τέλειος ἄνθρωπος</u>, ἄφθορον τὴν παρθενίαν τῆς τεκούσης καὶ μετὰ τὸν τόκον φυλάξας· ...</p>	<p>Οὗτος δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὠμολόγηται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐκ <u>παρθένου</u> ἁγίας γεννηθεῖς <u>ἀσπόρως</u> τε καὶ <u>ἀφθόρως</u></p> <p><u>σάρκα</u> ἀνέλαβε</p> <p><u>καὶ</u> <u>ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις</u>, (15.1)</p>	<p>Jesus Christ, who is named the Son of God most High; and it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew <i>virgin</i> took and</p> <p><i>clad Himself with flesh,</i> and in a daughter of</p> <p><i>man</i> there dwelt the Son of God. (2.2)</p>
XX	<p>... Καὶ ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο <u>σημεῖα</u> ποιεῖν μεγάλα καὶ <u>θαυμαστά</u>, ...</p>	<p><u>τέρασι</u> πολλοῖς καὶ <u>σημείοις</u> ἐγνώρισεν ... καὶ τὰ ἀναρίθμητα <u>θαύματα</u> ἅπερ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο· (14.2)</p>	

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
XXI	... Ὅθεν καὶ <u>μαθητὰς</u> <u>ἐξέλεξατο δώδεκα</u> , οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ἐκάλεσε, καὶ κηρύττειν πᾶσιν ἐπέτρεψε τὴν <u>οὐράνιον</u> πολιτείαν, ἣν <u>ἦλθεν</u> ἐπὶ γῆς ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ οὐρανίους τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπιγείους ποιήσασθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ <u>οἰκονομία</u> .	Οὗτος <u>δώδεκα ἔσχε</u> <u>μαθητὰς</u> , οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν <u>οὐρανοῖς</u> ἄνοδον αὐτοῦ <u>ἐξῆλθον</u> εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῆς <u>οἰκουμένης</u> καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεγαλωσύνην· (15.2)	and then these <i>twelve</i> <i>disciples</i> went forth into the known parts of the world, and taught concerning His greatness with all humility and sobriety (2.2)
XXII	Φθόνῳ δὲ τῆς θαυμαστῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ θεοπρεποῦς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἀπείρων θαυμάτων οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων – ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποίει – μανέντες, οἷσπερ τὰ προειρημένα θαύματα, σημεῖα τε καὶ τέρατα πεποιήκει, ἀμνημονήσαντες πάντων θανάτῳ αὐτὸν κατεδίκασαν, ἓνα τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς προδοσίαν συναρπάσαντες. Καὶ κρατήσαντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἑκδοτὸν τὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐποιήσαντο, <u>ἐκουσίᾳ</u> μέντοι <u>βουλῇ</u> ταῦτα καταδεξαμένου αὐτοῦ· ἦλθε γὰρ δι' ἡμᾶς πάντα παθεῖν, ἵνα ἡμᾶς τῶν παθῶν ἐλευθερώσῃ. Πολλὰ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνδειζάμενοι <u>σταυρῶ</u> τὸ τελευταῖον <u>κατεδίκασαν</u>	διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγένευστο <u>ἐκουσίᾳ</u> <u>βουλῇ</u> κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην· (15.1) ἐμπαροινήσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν προέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ <u>σταυρῶ</u> <u>κατεδίκασαν</u> , (14.2)	in order that a certain dispensation of His might be fulfilled. He was pierced by the Jews; and He died and was buried (2.2)

	<i>B&I Chapter 7</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>
XXIII	... Τεθείς τε ἐν τάφῳ τῇ <u>τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ</u> ἐξάνεστη, νικήσας τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἡμῖν τὴν νίκην κατ' αὐτοῦ δωρησάμενος· ...	Καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγεύσατο ἐκουσία βουλὴ κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην· μετὰ δὲ <u>τρεῖς ἡμέρας</u> ἀνεβίω καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνῆλθεν. (15.1)	and they say that after <i>three days</i> He rose and ascended to heaven (2.2)
XXI V	... καὶ διδάσκοντες τηρεῖν <u>πάσας τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ</u> <u>σωτῆρος</u> .	Ἔχουσι τὰς <u>ἐντολὰς</u> αὐτοῦ <u>τοῦ</u> <u>κυρίου</u> Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμένας, (15.3)	from whom they received those <i>commandments</i> which they have engraved on their minds (15.3)
XXV	Ἐφώτισαν οὖν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πεπλανημένα	ὁδεύοντες γὰρ ἐν σκότει προσρήσσονται ἑαυτοῖς ὡς μεθύοντες. (16.6)	and they grope as if in the dark, because they are unwilling to know the truth, and like drunken men they stagger and thrust one another and fall down. (16.6)
XXV I	καὶ τὴν δεισιδαίμονα <u>πλάνην</u> τῶν <u>εἰδώλων</u> κατήργησαν. ...	Ἄλλ' ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι <u>πολλάκις</u> ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν <u>σεβάσμασι</u> , (14.2)	

Some of the above sections of comparison show direct correlation between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*. In the second comparison, the redactor paraphrases the contents of the *Apology*. In the third to the twelfth comparisons we find a similarity in content between *B&I* chapter 7 and selected parts of the *Apology*. Some of these similarities indicate copying from the *Apology*, as we will soon discover. The pertinent question, as mentioned before, is whether the Greek text of the *Apology* has already been altered by the redactor of *B&I*, or whether the *Apology* is an independent source, which as an insert, impacted on the redactor's work. There is little difference in the first comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*. The reason for including it here is that Pouderon uses this section of chapter 7 to prove that the redactor of *B&I* has changed the *Apology* from something that resembled the content of the Syriac, to the content of

chapter 27 of *B&I*.⁴⁰⁷ The first point that must be discussed is the use of ἀπερινόητος (incomprehensible). From εἰς θεὸς to δίκαιος, the redactor has placed John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 2.10-3.⁴⁰⁸ This quotation includes the use of ἀπερινόητος, and therefore, the term does not derive from the Syriac version of the *Apology*. The second essential point is the use of ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ὑποστησάμενος, τὰ τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα.⁴⁰⁹ Pouderon thinks this reflects the Syriac version of the *Apology*: 'and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him'. Following this (πρῶτον μὲν onwards), the redactor inserts content similar to Gregory Nazianzenus' *Orationes* 38, 9, 4-5.⁴¹⁰ Therefore, sandwiched between quotes from two church fathers is a phrase taken from the content of the Syriac version of the *Apology*, albeit that the language is different. The fact that neither church father is mentioned by Pouderon casts doubt on his claim, as it appears the redactor is placing his own theology within *B&I* to help the flow between the quotes he inserts. Moreover, it could also be possible that the Greek text has been reworked and enlarged by the redactor, and that a more primitive version looked rather like the Greek that formed the basis of the Syriac version.

The second comparison, concerning the providence of God, shows no direct correlation between the *Apology* and *B&I*. The context is different, as chapter 7 shows that there was 'no providence', whereas the *Apology* describes God's providence. Additionally, this is the only instance in which *B&I* refers to a position that holds that there is no providence, although it does discuss God's providence, as will be further discussed below.

In the third comparison, there is no similarity to be found between this section of the *B&I* novel and anything else in *B&I*, yet the parallels to the *Apology* are clear.⁴¹¹

The fourth comparison provides some more interesting parallels. The Syriac version of the *Apology* has something similar to the Greek *B&I* version: 'and on this

⁴⁰⁷ B. Pouderon, 'd'Apol. 14.2 Ba' (2001): 77-80. In the comparison, the part in English is the Syriac version of the *Apology*.

⁴⁰⁸ Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ θεὸς ἀναρχος, ἀτελεύτητος, αἰώνιος τε καὶ αἰδῖος, ἄκτιστος, ἄτρεπτος, ἀναλλοίωτος, ἀπλοῦς, ἀσύνθετος, ἀσώματος, ἀόρατος, ἀναφής, ἀπερίγραπτος, ἄπειρος, ἀπερίληπτος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀπερινόητος, ἀγαθός, δίκαιος [...].

⁴⁰⁹ 'Who created all things, both the visible and the invisible.'

⁴¹⁰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐννοεῖ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ οὐρανίους. This is also John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 17.76: Πρῶτον ἐννοεῖ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ οὐρανίους. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 59-60.

⁴¹¹ *B&I* chapter 7: κακοῦς is omitted in KMW₁.

account they made likenesses'.⁴¹² The term 'likenesses' in the Syriac is the equivalent to the Greek noun *μορφώματα*. Outside of the *Apology* chapter, *μορφώματα* appears twice in chapter 7, and again in chapter 31 of *B&I*: 'Thou makest not God, but the likeness of a man, or of some beast...'⁴¹³ A similar interest must be taken in chapter 31 as in chapter 7, as we find some comparisons to the *Apology*, which will be divulged later. We can conclude that the use of *μορφώματα* in *B&I* has been borrowed from its use in the *Apology*. In the second part of the fourth comparison we can see a direct correlation between the texts from chapters 7 and 27, but also that some of the phrasings slightly differ. Instead of *τυπώσαντες* (chapter 7) we find *ποιήσαντες* (chapter 27). The phrase *κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα εἰδῶλα* (identical in chapters 7 and 27) does appear in the Syriac version too: 'how thus they have gone astray after dead idols and senseless images'. Nowhere else in *B&I* does the phrase re-occur. Further, the only instance of the phrase⁴¹⁴ outside *B&I* is in Nicephorus I, *Refutatio et eversio definitionis anni 815 190*.⁴¹⁵ Nicephorus I is used nowhere else in *B&I*.⁴¹⁶ This leads us to conclude that the *B&I* redactor is relying directly on the *Apology* as a source not only in chapter 27, but also in chapter 7, and that because of parallels with the Syriac as in section 1 it is not always the text from chapter 27 that seems to preserve the Greek readings, but that we equally need to take into account the readings of chapter 7.

The fifth comparison shows a close reading between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology* according to chapter 27.⁴¹⁷ The Syriac *Apology* has the same as the Greek *B&I* version: 'and they enclosed them in temples'. *συγκλείσαντες* appears only in chapter 7 of *B&I* and in the *Apology* chapter. Throughout the rest of *B&I*, the redactor prefers *προσεκύνησαν* instead of *συγκλείσαντες*, as we have here. Again, this leads us to conclude that the redactor of *B&I* is relying directly on the *Apology* both in chapters 7 and 27.

⁴¹² See appendix 2 for a table comparison between the different versions of the *Apology*. *B&I* chapter 27: second καὶ (13.1) to line 229 is omitted in XYZ. ποιῶντες to line 22 is omitted in E.

⁴¹³ ὥστε οὐ Θεὸν ποιεῖς, ἀλλὰ μὶσθῶμα ἀνθρώπου ἢ ζῴου τινός.

⁴¹⁴ In this conjugated form.

⁴¹⁵ The use of this phrase in Nicephorus is in a different context.

⁴¹⁶ This is a typical trait of the redactor: he will draw on a source a number of times within a small passage but not use that source anywhere else in *B&I*.

⁴¹⁷ Chapter 7: καὶ is before *συγκλείσαντες* in manuscripts E'FGIJKLMNO'PRSU1U2VW1W1Kech. τε is omitted in DE'FGHIJKLMNO'PQRSU1U2VW1W2Kech.

In the sixth comparison, there are both similarities and differences between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology* in chapter 27.⁴¹⁸ *B&I* has λατρεύοντες, whereas the *Apology* has σέβεσθαι. There are no manuscript variances to suggest that the *Apology* uses λατρεύοντες or σέβεσθαι. The two verbs have similar meanings ('to serve', 'to worship'). They are used with reference to serving, or worshipping God not only in these two chapters, but throughout *B&I*.⁴¹⁹ It is only in this comparative section, however, that these verbs are used with reference to 'worshipping the creation more than the creator'. The Syriac version of the *Apology* contains the following phrasing which comes closer to the Greek from chapter 27 of *B&I*: 'and they *began* to serve created things instead of the Creator of them'. The missing ἤρξαντο = 'began' in chapter 7 indicates that the redactor of *B&I* may have preserved the older Greek text more closely in chapter 27 than in chapter 7. Volk indicates⁴²⁰ some similarity between this passage and *Romans* 1:25. The New Testament passage reads καὶ ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα.⁴²¹ The *Romans* passage gives us both verbs, but not ἤρξαντο. This, however, does not detract from the possibility that the redactor of *B&I* might also have relied upon *Romans*.

The phrase τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, as it appears in *B&I* chapter 7, also appears in Eusebius,⁴²² Epiphanius,⁴²³ Athanasius,⁴²⁴ Didymus Caecus,⁴²⁵ Basilus Seleuciensis,⁴²⁶ Procopius,⁴²⁷ Catenae (Novum Testamentum),⁴²⁸ Maximus Confessor⁴²⁹

⁴¹⁸ Chapter 7: We have τὴν κτίσιν in manuscript L (like the *Apology*). Chapter 27: τὴν κτίσιν appears as τῇ κτίσει in manuscript C. τὸν κτίσαντα appears as τῷ κτίσαντι in J.

⁴¹⁹ The idea of 'serving God' appears in *B&I* 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33 and 36. The idea of 'worshipping God' appears in chapters 7, 25, 27 and 31.

⁴²⁰ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 64

⁴²¹ See A. Wartelle, 'Sur le vocabulaire' (1989): 51-2 for a discussion of the use of σέβεσθαι. σέβεσθαι is used in other early apologists. See *ibidem*: 52-3.

⁴²² *De ecclesiastica theologia* 2.14.8, *Commentarius in Isaiam* 2.56.

⁴²³ *Panarion* 3.362.

⁴²⁴ *Contra gentes* 8, *Expositiones in Psalmos* 27.97.

⁴²⁵ *Commentarii in Zacchariam* 2.119, *Fragmenta in Psalmos* 764.

⁴²⁶ *Sermones xli* 433.

⁴²⁷ *Comentarii in Isaiam* 2692.

⁴²⁸ *Catenae in Acta* 121, *Catenae in epistulam ad Romanos* 396.

⁴²⁹ *Quaestiones et dubia* 124.

and John of Damascus.⁴³⁰ Thus we have a number of possible sources from which the redactor of *B&I* might have taken it. We must rule out reliance upon the church fathers, as none of these sources use the phrase ‘the creation more than the creator’ in conjunction with λατρεύοντες. Instead, the church fathers use either σέβεσθαι or προσκυνῶ. Why, then, did the redactor use λατρεύοντες in chapter 7? That the redactor was well versed in the content of the *Apology* is evident by the way he jumps around its different chapters in these twenty-six comparisons. He does not move consecutively and succinctly through the *Apology* as he copies its content into chapter 7, but seems to borrow ideas and places them in no particular order, as in this passage: clearly here, the redactor is more of a paraphrast, than a metaphrast.

In the second half of the sixth comparison the redactor of *B&I* in chapter 7 does not seem to directly quote the *Apology*, as he uses different declensions for ‘sun’ and ‘moon’ and also adds τοῖς ἄστροις.⁴³¹ Although ἄστρα appears in 4.2 of the *Apology*, it is used in a very different context to our comparative section, and in no other version of the *Apology* do ‘stars’ appear in chapters 3.1 or 4.2. ‘Stars’ do however appear in chapter 1.1 of the Armenian version: ‘Heaven, the earth and the sea, the sun, the moon and the stars and all the creatures’; as well as in chapter 6.1 of the Syriac version: ‘And in calculation then sun has a part with the rest of the stars in his course’ (which is also found in the Greek fragments and the *B&I* version of the *Apology*), and chapter 6.2 of the Syriac version: ‘and in like manner also the moon and stars’.⁴³² It seems that chapter 7 of *B&I* and the Armenian and Syriac versions of the *Apology* here are closer to one another than to the Greek *B&I* version of chapter 27. Volk, in his critical edition of *B&I*, does not indicate whether this section has been sourced elsewhere by the redactor.⁴³³ Perhaps, the redactor of *B&I* may have miscopied the Greek *Apology* in chapter 27 by missing out ‘stars’.

With regard to the seventh comparison, it is not difficult to see that *B&I* in chapter 7 reflects the same text of the *Apology* that he gives in chapter 27. Although,

⁴³⁰ *Orationes de imaginibus tres* 3,6.

⁴³¹ Which means ‘stars.’

⁴³² We must hasten to add that although the Syriac version does use ‘stars’ the context, in comparison to the novel of *B&I*, is different. If the Syriac used ‘stars’ in a similar context to the Armenian version, we could have a stronger case for the existence of a Greek version similar to the Syriac version.

⁴³³ Volk does not draw any parallel between this section of *B&I* and the *Apology*. Yet, my research indicates that the *Apology* draws a parallel with this section of *B&I*.

one has to add that the frequent use of both *προνοία* and *δημιουργόν* that appear throughout the *Apology* and *B&I* seem to show the widespread use of these terms by the translator of *B&I*.⁴³⁴ Interestingly, chapter 1.1 of the Syriac version of the *Apology* has ‘grace’ instead of ‘providence’ as we have it here twice in chapters 7 and 27 of the Greek *B&I*. Yet, the Armenian version of chapter 1.1 of the *Apology* also reads ‘providence’, like the Greek text, and not ‘grace’ like the Syriac. If the stemma of the textual transmission of the *Apology*, as shown by Pouderon and Pierre, were correct,⁴³⁵ it would be difficult to explain how the Armenian version that supposedly is one of the two representatives of the ‘Oriental branch’ going back to Gr3 can show a reading which it has in common with Gr2, unless the Syriac translator/redactor has altered the text and chose ‘grace’ instead of ‘providence’. Based on the stemma it would be unlikely that ‘grace’ was part of Gr3 and that the Armenian by chance had changed it and aligned itself to the Gr2 tradition, except we have to reckon with a contamination of the two traditions.⁴³⁶ As ‘providence’ is also a topic elsewhere in the *B&I* we may see a certain influence of the *Apology* on the *B&I*.

The Syriac version of chapter 15.3 reads: ‘For they know and believe in God, the maker of heaven and earth.’ The Greek of it in chapter 27 reads *γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων*. If the Syriac translator was relying on a Greek version akin to the *B&I* version we now possess, it is unclear whether he has translated *κτίστην* or *δημιουργόν*, if both nouns were originally part of the *Apology*. Given that *κτίστην* and *δημιουργόν* do not appear in conjunction with each other anywhere else in *B&I*, nor in any other version of the *Apology*, it is more likely that the redactor of *B&I* did not insert one of these nouns into the text of the *Apology*, but that the Syriac text contracted the two terms into one. A further comparison may even give us an indication which of the two terms the Syriac omitted in the translation. For *κτίστην* is used in chapters 15.3 and 17.3 of the Greek version of the *Apology* and, looking at chapter 17.3, we can see that the Syriac version has to ‘worship the true God’, while the Greek version however reads *θεὸν κτίστην σέβεσθαι*.⁴³⁷ It seems,

⁴³⁴ *προνοία* appears in *B&I* chapters 7, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27, 31, 40 and *δημιουργόν* appears in *B&I* chapters 2, 7, 8, 10, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 34.

⁴³⁵ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 172; the *stemma* is reproduced above.

⁴³⁶ This is because ‘providence’ appears elsewhere in *B&I*.

⁴³⁷ For the use of *σέβεσθαι* in other early Christian *Apologies* see A. Wartelle, ‘Sur le vocabulaire’ (1989): 51-2.

therefore, that the Syriac omitted here as in 15.3 the term κτίστην. Elsewhere in *B&I*, κτίστην is used only in chapter 31. As previously stated, chapter 31, like chapter 7, draws upon some ideas contained within the *Apology* which underscores that κτίστην most likely was part of the text of the *Apology*. The same is true for δημιουργόν which re-appears in chapters 8.1, 13.1 and 15.3 of the Greek version of the *Apology*. In each case there is no comparison (except for chapter 15.3 as previously discussed) to any other version of the *Apology*. If we return to the comparison of chapter 15.3, we may be able to conclude that also κτίστην was part of the *Apology*.

In the eighth to the twelfth comparisons, the translator and redactor of *B&I* can be seen to be summing up the contents of the *Apology* (as discussed in the second comparison). These five comparisons indicate how well the *B&I* reflects the content of the *Apology*. The twelfth comparison is of particular interest. We must first refer to the conclusion from the fourth comparison: μορφώματα originated from the *Apology*, and has not been inserted by the redactor of *B&I*. Second, *B&I* and the *Apology* share the idea that there were gods that were male, and gods that were female. The same idea of gods of both genders appears in the Syriac version of the *Apology*, but is not found anywhere else in *B&I*. Furthermore, Volk indicates that there are no external sources for this section of *B&I*, which leads us to conclude that the redactor has relied on the *Apology* as a source.

The thirteenth comparison contains the most fruitful insight thus far. A word-for-word parallel between *B&I* and the *Apology* is clearly discernible. In the thirteenth comparison I have referenced the *Apology* section as ‘8.1 extra’. This is because this section of the *Apology* text appears only in the Greek *B&I* manuscripts A, G and W₂.⁴³⁸ This information is included in Pouderon and Pierre,⁴³⁹ but not in Volk’s critical edition of *B&I*. Volk does neither explain why he omits this section nor does he note the omission in his apparatus. The three manuscripts that provide us with this additional material are each from a different modification, as we have previously discussed.⁴⁴⁰ Comparing the Greek version of the *Apology* to the Syriac version, we find similarity

⁴³⁸ These are manuscripts: *Iviron*, fol. 39^r, 1.2-13 (urtext); *Scorialensis*, fol. 24^{ra}, 1.18 - 24^{rb}, 1.16 (modification A); *Parisinus*, fol 32^{rb}, 1.29 - 32^{va}, 1.15 (modification C).

⁴³⁹ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 292. This section also appears in C. Alpigiano, *Aristide di Atene* (1988): 49; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 11.

⁴⁴⁰ See chapter 1.A.i.3.b for a discussion on the different modifications of *B&I*. See the end of appendix 2 where I discuss these manuscripts.

between them. According to the *stemma* provided by Pouderon and Pierre,⁴⁴¹ each textual tradition of the *Apology* is independent of other versions. Therefore, the Greek version of the *Apology* did originally contain this passage, and Volk was incorrect to omit it from his critical edition. The text contained in the thirteenth comparison is, however, included by Volk in chapter 7 of *B&I*. If it were indeed the case that this section appeared in chapter 7, and not in most manuscripts not in the *Apology* chapter, we would probably conclude that it was replicated by some scribes into the *Apology* of *B&I*. However, this conclusion is not satisfactory.

First, we must look at the context in which this section appears in chapter 7 of *B&I*. Previously, the redactor has discussed the worship of water (5.1 *Apology*), of fire (5.2 *Apology*), the elements (3.1 *Apology*) and men and women (8.1 *Apology*). The redactor also discussed Abraham thinking about the world (1.1 *Apology*) and its maker and demiurge, God (15.3 *Apology*), and not by the ‘earthly elements of lifeless idols’ (7.2 *Apology*). The discussion on the nature of the Greek gods fits easily into the text.

Secondly, such a conclusion does not take into account the Syriac version, which includes a similar parallel passage. This problem can only be explained if we assume either a contamination between manuscript A and the Syriac version, or that a scribe or several scribes and their copyists skipped this passage as they noticed that it was a duplication of a section that was already present in chapter 7. Yet, as the text in chapter 7 is, indeed, as we have seen before, based on the text of the *Apology* that is inserted more fully into chapter 27, we can conclude that the passage of our section thirteen, as present in the three manuscripts, was part of the *Apology*, as correctly recognized also recently by Pouderon and Pierre.

Here, therefore, we have an example of the *Apology* being directly copied by the redactor of *B&I* into his chapter 7 too. This conclusion requires caution: thus far the redactor of *B&I* has not copied such a large section of the *Apology*, and to do so here may therefore be deemed ‘uncharacteristic’. Nevertheless, we have seen from the seventh comparison (between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology* in chapter 27) that what may appear on the surface to be ‘uncharacteristic’, is not necessarily so. There is, however, another option to consider. As already seen, and more will be noted below, the Greek redactor apparently sometime shortens the text of the *Apology* which he inserts

⁴⁴¹ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 172.

into chapter 27, whereas before in chapter 7 he gives a slightly fuller version of those parts that he already uses and presents from the *Apology*. It, therefore, also could have been the case that because he wrote out this larger piece from the *Apology* in chapter 7, he omitted it in chapter 27, something a scribe of the manuscripts (or that of a parent manuscript) that preserve this text as part of the *Apology* in chapter 27 may have noticed who then still would have had access to the Gr3 tradition which produced this contaminated form.

The Greek *Apology* text from the fourteenth comparison is contained with some significant differences within both the Syriac and Armenian versions. The Syriac omits ‘moon and stars’ which we read in the Armenian version, whereas the Greek has ‘moon’, but not ‘stars’. The Syriac reads ‘and the rest of the orderly creation’, while the Armenian contains ‘and all the creatures’. Our Greek texts differ,⁴⁴² however, with chapter 7 providing us with the ‘all’ that we also see in the Armenian and reading ‘and all the rest’, whereas in chapter 27, the text is shortened with the ‘all’ omitted, as in the Syriac. As in section one, also here, the text that is given in chapter 7 seems to have preserved the *Apology* better than chapter 27.

One notable, comparative difference is how *B&I* chooses κατανοήσας (to understand/perceive) instead of the *Apology*’s θεωρήσας (to see/perceive). Both verbs appear throughout *B&I*, although κατανοήσας is preferred, especially when the redactor discusses the notion of ‘perceiving’ the world, or objects, as being of more value than humans. In contrast, θεωρήσας is used in *B&I* mainly in a non-philosophical or non-theological context.⁴⁴³ Only once outside of the *Apology* chapter, in chapter 10, is θεωρήσας used in a theological or philosophical context. The passage from chapter 10, as pointed out by Volk,⁴⁴⁴ has been taken from Gregory Nazianzenus’ *Orationes* 40.41.13-4; therefore, it does not rely on the *Apology*. The alternative verb form, κατανοήσας, is used in chapters 2, 6, 8, 12, 14 and 15 of *B&I*.⁴⁴⁵ The content and context of these six examples are comparable to those of chapter 7 of *B&I*. It is

⁴⁴² On some minor scribal errors of the *B&I* manuscripts, such as the addition of καὶ, or καὶ τὴν between ‘heaven’ and ‘earth’, see for chapter 7: Κατανοήσας το διακόσμησιν in XYZ is omitted. πάντα is in CE’FGHIJLMNO’PRSU₁U₂VW₁W₂KechXYZ, whereas πάντα is in K. And for chapter 27: after οὐρανὸν adds καὶ τὴν in LMNO’TY. After οὐρανὸν adds τὴν in X. After οὐρανὸν adds καὶ in GQRSU₂’VW₁W₂Z. καὶ τὰ λοιπά is omitted in C. καὶ διακρατοῦντα is omitted in V.

⁴⁴³ In *B&I* 22, 29, and twice in chapter 40.

⁴⁴⁴ See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 99.

⁴⁴⁵ The verb, with no philosophical aspect, is used in chapters 6, 12, 16, 17 and 26.

possible to conclude that the redactor of *B&I* has changed θεωρήσας to his more favoured verb, κατανοήσας. The further difference between the *Apology* and *B&I* in the fourteenth comparison is the addition of the adjective ἐναρμόνιον which is part of his argument and summarises the end of section fourteen as given in chapter 27. The redactor has reworded the *Apology* content into what we now have in *B&I* chapter 7, but conveys the same message that is contained in the *Apology*.

The fifteenth comparison refers to the ‘elements and lifeless idols’.⁴⁴⁶ The Syriac version uses ‘elements’ as often as the Greek version of the *Apology* does,⁴⁴⁷ with a number of parallels between the two texts. The *Balavariani* does not refer to ‘elements’ at all; therefore, this noun has been deliberately inserted into *B&I* by the Greek redactor who also inserted the *Apology*. The noun στοιχεῖα is used in the Greek *Apology* eight times, in comparison to only five times throughout the whole of *B&I*. Of these five instances, two are in chapter 7, one in chapter 9 (where *B&I* quotes 2 Peter 3:12), one at the end of chapter 12 and one at the end of chapter 17. None of these additional uses of στοιχεῖα bear any content or context relationship to chapter 7 of *B&I*, but they show that the redactor’s mindset was congenial to and his language at times influenced by the *Apology*.

Chapter 7 of *B&I* has τοῖς ἀψύχοις εἰδώλοις,⁴⁴⁸ whereas in chapter 27 he writes τὰ νεκρὰ ἀγάλματα. The phrase ‘dead images’ or ‘idols without soul’ does not appear in the *Balavariani*, which suggests that the redactor of *B&I* did not draw these expressions from the parent text. ‘Dead images’ occur in chapters 3.1 and 7.2 of the Syriac version of the *Apology*, both of which are parallel to the Greek version. ‘Dead idols’, however, also appear in chapter 13.1 of the Syriac version, but has no parallel in the Greek. May this be another instance where the Greek redactor has shortened the text of the *Apology* in chapter 27, while he gives us more text of it in chapter 7? Both ἀψύχοις and εἰδώλοις appear throughout *B&I*, and so does νεκρά, whereas ἀγάλματα appear only in chapters 10, 31 and 32. Of these, chapter 31 may be reliant upon the *Apology* as a source,⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ Chapter 7: τῆς γῆς is omitted in D.

⁴⁴⁷ ‘Elements’ appear in chapter 3.1 Syriac and Greek (twice); 3.2 Syriac (three times) and Greek (twice); 4.1 Syriac and Greek (twice); 7.1 Syriac (twice) and Greek; 7.2 Syriac and Greek; 16.6 Syriac.

⁴⁴⁸ Chapter 31 is also influenced by the *Apology*. We therefore have some comparisons between chapter 31 and chapter 7 of *B&I*: for example the phrase τοῖς ἀψύχοις εἰδώλοις. We will discuss the commonalities between the *Apology* and chapter 31 of *B&I* below.

⁴⁴⁹ See the discussion below.

which leaves two independent uses of ἀγάλματα,⁴⁵⁰ suggesting that the redactor of *B&I* did not favour this noun, but used it, because it was present in the *Apology*.

In section sixteen, the Greek version of the *Apology* in chapter 27 has τῶν ἀπάντων,⁴⁵¹ whereas the parallel Syriac version of chapter 15.3 of the *Apology* reads ‘of heaven and earth in whom are all things and from whom are all things’. The Syriac is very different from the Greek version. Yet, as already seen, and other instances could be added, there are a number of occasions where the Syriac is more detailed than the Greek.⁴⁵²

The seventeenth comparison invokes numerous biblical ideas.⁴⁵³ The difference in the word order (‘signs and wonders’ for ‘wonders and signs’) is of little significance.⁴⁵⁴ Yet, the parallels are clear. With regards to Aaron, he is only mentioned in this passage of chapter 7 in *B&I*, but does neither occur elsewhere in *B&I* nor is he mentioned in chapter 27, nor does he feature in the other versions of the *Apology*.

The use of εὐδοκίᾳ, or εὐδόκησεν, in the eighteenth comparison produces two distinct ideas. In chapter 27 the text states that the Son of God was pleased (εὐδόκησεν) to come upon the earth. In contrast to this, chapter 7 of *B&I* has: ‘By the good pleasure (εὐδοκίᾳ) of our God and Father, and the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, the only-begotten Son, even the Word of God, which is in the bosom of the Father, being of one substance with the Father and with the Holy Ghost, he that was before all worlds, without beginning, who was in the beginning, and was with God even the Father [...]’ came upon the earth.⁴⁵⁵ No other version of the *Apology* contains an idea comparable to that of the Son of God being pleased to come upon the earth or of the Fathers pleasing or blessing. Volk does not indicate that this passage is drawing upon any external

⁴⁵⁰ *B&I* 10 is possibly borrowed from the *Balavariani* 2.26; chapter 32 is taken from *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* 45, 34-7.

⁴⁵¹ Chapter 27: which appears as πάντων in T.

⁴⁵² In chapter 1.2 of the *Apology*, the Syriac version expands on the traits of God, whereas the Armenian and Greek do not. The Syriac regularly expands on sections and is incomparable to the Greek. This is especially evident in chapters 5.3, 6.1, 6.2, 11.3, 12.3, 15.4-6 and 16.6 of the *Apology*.

⁴⁵³ For example, the use of ‘signs and wonders’. The idea of the Jews being led out of Egypt by God through Moses only appears in *Numbers* 20:16; 1 *Samuel* 12:8; *Psalms* 104:37, 40; *Baruch* 1:20. This is because the other examples available to us refer to either God or Moses leading the Jews out, but not to the image of God leading through Moses.

⁴⁵⁴ σημεῖοις καὶ τέρασιν (*B&I* 7, 9 and 32) appears this way round, rather than inverted, in the *Apology*.

⁴⁵⁵ Chapter 27: W₁ has an interesting addition after this passage. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 280.

source. Similar ideas can be found elsewhere in *B&I*. Chapter 2⁴⁵⁶ refers to ‘the kindness of the saviour’, while in chapter 34,⁴⁵⁷ Christ was ‘pleased to be born of the holy virgin’. In chapter 2 of *B&I* the redactor is quoting *Titus* 3:4. *Titus* does not include εὐδόκησεν, which is found in *B&I* chapter 2. Therefore the redactor of *B&I* has deliberately inserted the verb. In chapter 34 of *B&I*, according to Volk,⁴⁵⁸ the redactor is quoting Symeon Metaphrastes’ *Vita S. Philippi Apostoli* 19.⁴⁵⁹ However, this Symeon Metaphrastes text does not use εὐδόκησεν either. Although each piece of evidence is distinct in content and context, it is the infidelity of the redactor that speaks more loudly than the comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*. As stated, the redactor has inserted εὐδόκησεν into the quote of *Titus* 3:4 and into Symeon Metaphrastes’ *Vita S. Philippi Apostoli* 19. Therefore, it is likely that he has also inserted εὐδοκία into the text of the *Apology*. Additionally, the insertion of Symeon Metaphrastes’ text into chapter 34 of *B&I* is intriguing, as some of the language is very similar (although not identical) to the *Apology*: the *Apology* does not use πατρός, nor ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν; what is similar is the use of παρθένου ἁγίας, without Θεοτόκος, which is used throughout *B&I*. We will discuss this forthwith.

The nineteenth comparison shows some theological differences between the *Apology* from chapter 27 and *B&I*.⁴⁶⁰ First of all, *B&I* uses Θεοτόκος in chapters 7 (!), 19⁴⁶¹ and 34 of *B&I*, but *not* in chapter 27! And even if for chapter 34⁴⁶² Θεοτόκος only appears in manuscripts VW₁ and W₂⁴⁶³ where it could be excluded as a later addition, there is a strong discrepancy with regards to this theologically loaded text between chapters 7 and 27. That Θεοτόκος has not been inserted into the text of chapter 27

⁴⁵⁶ Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ ἀγαθωσύνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ ἐξελέσθαι με τῆς χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας.

⁴⁵⁷ Σπλαγχνισθεὶς οὖν ὁ πλάσας ἡμᾶς θεὸς εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εὐδόκησεν ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας καθ’ ἡμᾶς τεχθῆναι· καὶ πάθῃσιν ὁμιλήσας ὁ ἀπαθὴς διὰ τρίτης τε ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν.

⁴⁵⁸ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 353.

⁴⁵⁹ PG 115 (193 C 2-7).

⁴⁶⁰ Chapter 7: ἐψυχωμένην appears as ἐμψυχωμένην in CE’FGHIJKLMNO’PQRSU₁U₂VW₁W₂Kech. ἐψυχωμένην appears as ἐψυχωμένη in D. Chapter 27: τοῦ ὑψίστου is omitted in G. ὁμολογῆται is omitted in U₁. ὁμολογῆται appears as ὁμολογεῖται in GLMNQVW₂XYZ. ἁγίας is omitted in R’R”.

⁴⁶¹ εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀσπόρως συλληφθεὶς ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ ἀφθόρως ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος γενόμενος, καὶ ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς τέλειός ἐστι καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος.

⁴⁶² See the text in the seventeenth comparison. It only uses ‘holy virgin,’ with no inclusion of Θεοτόκος.

⁴⁶³ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 353.

speaks for the fidelity, in which the redactor of *B&I* has worked when he incorporated the text of the *Apology*. This is also true, if one wants to discount the discrepancy by pointing to the fact that in both chapters 7 and 19 Θεοτόκος appears in quotes from John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 45,47 (chapter 7) and 2.17-28 (chapter 19).⁴⁶⁴ And also in these cases, the redactor has introduced the term from an external source, it is still significant that this did not impact on the text of the *Apology* in chapter 27. However, the second difference in the nineteenth comparison may serve as a counter-argument, perhaps not to the fidelity of the redactor, but to that of the text that he had at hand. As one can see from the phrase καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας in appendix 3 of our study that gives the comparison of the section on the Christians in the different versions of the *Apology*, chapter 2 of the Syriac and Armenian versions are to some degree parallel to this phrase from chapter 15 of the *Apology* in the *B&I* version of chapter 27. Yet, the Syriac and Armenian both call Mary 'a Hebrew Virgin', whereas the *Apology* refers to Mary as παρθένου ἁγίας. παρθένου ἁγίας appears in three other places in *B&I*: chapters 7 (!), 19 and 34 (as previously discussed). In these chapters παρθένου ἁγίας appears in the same sentence as Θεοτόκος, and therefore the same sources that use Θεοτόκος also use παρθένου ἁγίας. The context, therefore, may make it likely that the redactor changed the wording of the *Apology* to create continuity with the rest of *B&I* and introduced παρθένου ἁγίας. If so, however, why did he not insert either θεοτόκου or Μαρίας into the *Apology*?

The third difference is the use of γεννηθεὶς ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθόρως σάρκα ἀνέλαβε in the *B&I* version of the *Apology*. Returning to the comparison of the section on Christians in appendix 3, we can see that the Syriac reports that Jesus 'took and clad Himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God'. In comparison, the Armenian has 'and was born taking a body form from the virgin to appear as human'. There seems a clear theologising of Mariology going on from a barely developed text represented by the Syriac version to a more elaborated form, represented by the Armenian to a most loaded expression, given in the Greek *B&I*, less so in chapter 27 and more so even in chapter 7.

The nineteenth comparison shows that there are some similarities between *B&I* chapter 7 and chapter 27. *B&I* chapter 7 has οὐκ ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς ... ἐν τῇ ἀχράντῳ μήτρᾳ; it also uses the adjectives ἄφθορον and ἀσπόρως. The context ἄφθορον as used

⁴⁶⁴ See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 68 and 183 respectively.

in chapter 7 is different to that of the *Apology*. The *Apology* states that Jesus was born uncorrupted, whereas *B&I* chapter 7 states more correctly that Mary (τὴν παρθενίαν) was uncorrupted. The text as it is given in chapter 27 is a condensed form of what we read in chapter 7, but so much shortened as to become incorrect without the background of chapter 7. Not Jesus was uncorrupt (or incorrupt), but he who has been born neither from the sperm of a man nor from man's will has been born in an uncorrupted mother, a holy virgin. More than previous sections, this one clearly shows that in it the redactor seems to have reformulated the text of the *Apology* as he gives it in chapter 27 without fully giving what he had in mind, as he had expressed it already in chapter 7 and therefore may have only given the summary in chapter 27. This summary, however, only makes sense, if it is read in the light of what the author stated in chapter 7. There is one more instance in *B&I*, where he uses ἀφθόρως, namely in chapter 19; more often, the redactor preferred the adjective ἀχράντῳ, which is used in conjunction with Mary a total of seven times, in chapters 7, 8, 12, 19 and 39. Chapter 19 shows one of his sources for section nineteen and, therefore, for his particular reformulation of the *Apology*: John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 2:

<i>B&I Chapter 19</i>	<i>Expositio Fidei 2</i>
<p>καὶ ὅτι ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατήλθεν ἐπὶ γῆς, εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀσπόρως συλληφθεὶς ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ ἀφθόρως ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηθεὶς καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος γενόμενος, καὶ ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς θεὸς τέλειος ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος, ἐκ δύο φύσεων, θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, καὶ ἐν δύο φύσεσι νοεραῖς, θελητικαῖς τε καὶ ἐνεργητικαῖς καὶ αὐτεξουσίοις καὶ κατὰ πάντα τελείως ἐχούσαις κατὰ τὸν ἐκάστη πρέποντα ὅρον τε καὶ λόγον, φημὶ δὴ θεότητί τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι, μὴ δὲ συνθέτω ὑποστάσει.</p> <p>Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀπεριέργως δέχου, μηδ' ὅλως τὸν τρόπον μαθεῖν ἐκζητῶν, πῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν ἐκ παρθενικῶν αἱμάτων ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθάρτως, ἥ τίς ἢ τῶν δύο φύσεων ἐν μίᾳ ὑποστάσει συνέλευσις.</p>	<p>καὶ ὅτι ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀσπόρως συλληφθεὶς ἀφθόρως ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας γεγέννηται διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος ἐξ αὐτῆς γέγονε, ἐκ δύο φύσεων, θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, καὶ ἐν δύο φύσεσι νοεραῖς θελητικαῖς τε καὶ ἐνεργητικαῖς καὶ αὐτεξουσίοις καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν τελείως ἐχούσαις κατὰ τὸν ἐκάστη πρέποντα ὅρον τε καὶ λόγον, θεότητί τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητί φημι, μὴ δὲ συνθέτω ὑποστάσει, ὅτι τε ἐπέινησε καὶ ἐδίψησε καὶ ἐκοπίασε καὶ ἐσταυρώθη καὶ θανάτου καὶ ταφῆς πείραν ἐδέξατο καὶ ἀνέστη τριήμερος καὶ εἰς οὐρανοῦς ἀνεφοίτησεν, ὅθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγέγονε καὶ παραγενήσεται πάλιν εἰς ὕστερον, καὶ ἡ θεία γραφὴ μάρτυς καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χορὸς.</p>

Both terms, ἀσπόρως and ἀφθόρως appear in John of Damascus' quote and refer to Jesus' conception from the holy virgin, the mother of God. This is the parallel on which the redactor has shaped the passage of the *Apology* by condensing the content of it. According to Volk,⁴⁶⁵ chapter 7 of *B&I* has a further parallel in parts of John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 45, although the two texts are less directly related than the previous parallels,⁴⁶⁶ and neither ἀφθόρως nor ἀσπόρως are used in *Expositio Fidei* 45. However, ἀσπόρως is used further on in chapter 19 of *B&I* within a context that is

⁴⁶⁵ R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 68. Chapter 7: following θεότητί τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητι, manuscripts E'FGHIJKLMNO'PQRSTU₁VW₁W₂Kech include φημὶ which is the same as *Expositio Fidei*.

⁴⁶⁶ This is why I have not inserted a comparison between the two text as the discussion of such is not pertinent to the aim's of the thesis.

similar to chapter 7 of *B&I* and, again, we find references to John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* and other church fathers.

The following conclusion can therefore be drawn: as there are few parallels in this section between the Greek version of the *Apology* from chapters 7 and 27 of the *B&I* on the one hand, and the Syriac and Armenian versions on the other, and because chapter 7 gives us John of Damascus as the literary basis for the elaboration of what is condensed in chapter 27, it is most likely that the redactor of *B&I* has formed what we read as given in chapter 27 and has been taken as Greek text of the *Apology* which deviates considerably from what we find in the Syriac and Armenian version of the *Apology*.

The twentieth comparison has a degree of similarity to the seventeenth. The section provides biblical ideas, but the wording itself supports the close connection between chapters 7 and 27. However, no further parallels of the section to other places of the *B&I* version of the *Apology* and other versions of it can be found.⁴⁶⁷ While in chapter 7 (above in section seventeen) God through Moses performed σημείοις καὶ τέρασι, here in chapter 27 it is Jesus who is σημεῖα ποιεῖν μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά. There is one New Testament passage that mentions Jesus performing great wonders and signs: *Acts* 2:22.⁴⁶⁸ *Acts* uses τέρασι instead of θαυμαστά. Apparently, the redactor of *B&I*, having previously read *Acts*, is drawing upon the New Testament book rather than quoting it both in chapter 7 as well as in chapter 27. There are no direct parallels in the Syriac version of the *Apology*⁴⁶⁹ to this section. Chapter 7 of *B&I* uses the adjectival form of 'wonder', whereas the *Apology* uses the noun form. This is because *B&I* describes some of the wonders that Jesus performs.⁴⁷⁰ If we look to Jesus'

⁴⁶⁷ Chapter 27: ἀναριθμητα is omitted in U₂'.

⁴⁶⁸ Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἶδατε, There are other places where 'wonders and signs,' or 'signs and wonders' are referred to in the New Testament: none of which are specific to Jesus performing them.

⁴⁶⁹ The adjectival form, θαυμαστά also appears in chapter 15.2 of the *Apology*: καί, τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν, διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου. There is no parallel between this version of the *Apology* to either the other versions of the *Apology* or the rest of *B&I*. The other time θαυμαστά is used in the *Apology* is in chapter 16.5. In both the Syriac and the Greek version of the *Apology* the Christian teachings are called 'wonderful'.

⁴⁷⁰ The noun form can be found in *B&I* 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 21, 22, 27, 34, 38 and 40. In reference to 'God's wonders,' the idea can be found in chapters 7 and 12. We can find the idea of 'Jesus' wonders' in chapters 7, 8 and 21. The adjectival form can be found in chapters 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 38 and 40. Of these, we have two references to 'God's wonders' in chapters 7 and 12 and only one reference to 'Jesus' wonders' in chapter 7.

‘wonders’ (θαύματα) we can see that chapters 7, 8 and 21 are similar to the *Apology*. Beyond this similarity in each instance (chapters 7, 8 and 21) where *B&I* mentions the wonders of Jesus, the language and content is independent of and not comparable with the present section.

In the *Apology* the adjective that appears with θαύματα is ἀναρίθμητα. No similar context nor use of ‘innumerable wonders’ can be found in any other version of the *Apology*. This adjective is used elsewhere in *B&I*: chapters 7,⁴⁷¹ 11,⁴⁷² 16⁴⁷³ and 35.⁴⁷⁴ The redactor of *B&I* has not quoted any external source (although chapters 11 and 35 are internal references to one another), and none of these examples are comparable to the use of ἀναρίθμητα in the *Apology*. In fact, nowhere outside chapter 27 is this form of ἀναρίθμητα used to describe the wonders Jesus performed. Therefore, here too, it is likely that we face the redactor’s wording.

Although the differences in the twenty-first comparison between chapters 7 and 27 is obvious, we can still find some commonalities.⁴⁷⁵ First, it is the introduction of the twelve disciples, in chapter 7 called the apostles. Whether or not this detail belonged to the Greek version of the *Apology* cannot be answered, but the use of ‘incarnate’ or ‘incarnation’ in chapters 2 and 27 is worth discussing. A number of Greek words are used for ‘incarnate’ or ‘incarnation’, such as κένωσις and ἐνσαρκω, but the two preferred words are οικονομία and the more commonly used ἐνανθρώπησις. Οικονομία, in *B&I*, often refers to Christ’s ‘dispensation’ on the cross; something the *Apology* uses twice.⁴⁷⁶ Neither instance where the *B&I* version of the *Apology* uses οικονομία relates to other versions of the *Apology*. The word ἐνανθρώπησιν is used five times in *B&I*,⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷¹ ἀναρίθμητά τινα πλήθη.

⁴⁷² καὶ τοὺς ἀναριθμήτους οἰκτιρμούς τοῦ Θεοῦ νικῆσαι οὐ δύναται.

⁴⁷³ καὶ χρημάτων ἀναρίθμητον ὄγκον.

⁴⁷⁴ ἐκείνη δὲ ἀμέτρητός ἐστι καὶ ἀναρίθμητος.

⁴⁷⁵ Chapter 7: Ὅθεν καὶ μαθητὰς to the end of chapter 7 is omitted in XYZ. Chapter 27: ἐν οὐρανοῖς is replaced with εἰς οὐρανοῖς in U₁U₂‘VXYZ.

⁴⁷⁶ See chapter 15 of the *Apology*. οικονομία is used within *B&I* 1, 4, 7, 8, 27, 30, 34.

⁴⁷⁷ In *B&I* 8, 11, 19, 21.

in four out of the five times, the verb is used in conjunction with ‘the Word’⁴⁷⁸ of God. This theological concept does not feature in the *Apology*, as we will soon discuss. The fifth time ἐνανθρώπησιν appears in *B&I* reads as follows: ‘How our maker, heedful of our salvation, sent forth teachers and prophets proclaiming the Incarnation of the Only-begotten. Then he spoke of the Son, his dwelling among men ...’⁴⁷⁹ The redactor of *B&I* has used ἐνανθρώπησις as a name for Jesus, therefore as a noun. In the other four cases, the redactor refers to ἐνανθρωπήσας Θεὸς Λόγος in a verbal or adjectival way. How does this compare to the *Apology*? If we return to the nineteenth comparison, it says that Christ took on flesh; however the Greek in the *Apology* is quite literally σάρκα ἀνέλαβε and not ἐνανθρώπησις. The Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology*, chapter 2, have something similar to the Greek version: that Jesus ‘clad himself with flesh’ (Syriac) or was ‘taking a body form’ (Armenian). Although similar to the Greek version of the *Apology*, the exact terminology is not discernible within translation, yet we can conclude that the use of σάρκα ἀνέλαβε may go back to the Greek *Vorlage* of the *Apology* that was at hand to the redactor of *B&I*, because this expression does not appear anywhere else in *B&I* other than in the *Apology* chapter.

There is an additional parallel in the twenty-first comparison between the *Apology* and *B&I*:

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 7	<i>Apology</i> (according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27) 15.1	<i>Apology</i> (according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27) 15.2
καὶ κηρύττειν πᾶσιν ἐπέτρεψε τὴν οὐράνιον πολιτείαν	μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνεβίω καὶ εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνῆλθεν.	οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀνοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας

⁴⁷⁸ In *B&I* 8: ‘For thus spake God, the Word, who was incarnate for the salvation of our race’ οὕτω γὰρ ὁ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐνανθρωπήσας Θεὸς Λόγος εἶπεν· and ‘And how cometh it that thou hast heard the words of God incarnate?’ πόθεν δὲ τὰ τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος Θεοῦ ῥήματα σὺ ἀκήκοας;. In chapter 11 ‘God, the Word, made man for the salvation of our race’ ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐνανθρωπήσας Θεὸς Λόγος, and in chapter 19 ‘Faithfully worship, with honour and reverence, the venerable likeness of the features of the Lord, the Word of God, who for our sake was made man, thinking to behold in the Image thy Creator himself.’ Προσκύνει πιστῶς τιμῶν καὶ ἀσπαζόμενος τὸ σεβάσμιον ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ χαρακτήρος τοῦ δι’ ἡμᾶς ἐνανθρωπήσαντος Θεοῦ Λόγου, αὐτὸν δοκῶν τὸν Κτίστην ὁρᾶν ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι.

⁴⁷⁹ ὅπως τῆς ἡμετέρας φροντίζων ὁ Δημιουργὸς σωτηρίας διδασκάλους ἀπέστειλε καὶ προφήτας τὴν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς κηρύττοντας σάρκωσιν· ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον, τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν (*B&I* 21).

The difference between *B&I* chapters 7 and 27 are obvious, but it is also interesting to see how the wording can change within the same chapter of *B&I* 27.⁴⁸⁰ The language of Jesus being ‘taken up (in)to heaven’ is uncommon. For instance, this specific language only appears twice in the New Testament: *Luke* 14:51⁴⁸¹ and *Mark* 16:19.⁴⁸² Other New Testament passages only allude to Jesus going to heaven,⁴⁸³ or are not explicit as to Jesus literally ‘going to heaven’.⁴⁸⁴ Because such language is rare, this can help us to ascertain why there are two different verbs used within the same chapter 27, describing Jesus going to heaven. The context in chapter 2 of both the Armenian and Syriac versions of the *Apology* is similar to chapter 15.1 of the Greek *Apology*, except that where the Syriac and Greek refer to ‘after three days’, the Armenian does not. Looking at the choice of verb used by the redactor author, and giving a breakdown of the word forms used, can help us to ascertain whether one, both or neither references to Jesus going into heaven are redactional elements.

References to Jesus going into heaven using the verb ἀνῆλθεν, or its root ἀνέρχομαι,⁴⁸⁵ appear around the time of the *Apology*’s original composition in Justin Martyr’s *Apologia* 31.7 and 42.4, and his *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 34.2.⁴⁸⁶ It later appears in Origen’s *Dialogus cum Heraclide* 1.⁴⁸⁷ The use of this verb for the idea of Jesus ascending to heaven appears in later texts such as *Symbolum synodi Nicaenae anno 325*; *Symbolum synodi Antiochenae anno 341* 1, 2,3 and 4; *Symbolum synodi Antiochenae anno 345*; *Symbolum Hierosolymitanum*; *Symbolum apostolorum versiones variae* 7.41.6; Theodoretus Cyrrhensis, *Comentarii in Psalmos* 67:34; and Pseudo-

⁴⁸⁰ Manuscript K in chapter 15.1 of the *Apology* has ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, instead of ἀνεβίω

⁴⁸¹ Uses the middle, or passive, ἀναφέρω.

⁴⁸² Uses the verb ἀνελήμθη, from ἀναλαμβάνω.

⁴⁸³ For instance *John* 3:14 reads ‘And just as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up’, and *John* 20:17 reads ‘I am ascending to my Father’.

⁴⁸⁴ *Acts* 1:10 says that Jesus was ‘lifted up, and a cloud took him out of their sight.’

⁴⁸⁵ The idea of ascending into heaven using the verb ἀνέρχομαι appears in *Vita Adam et Eve* 43; *Testamentum Abrahæ* 4, 7, 15; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.38. However none of these refer to Jesus ascending to heaven.

⁴⁸⁶ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre note that this passage is a reference to *Luke* 14:51 and *Acts* 1:9 (*Apologie* [2003]: 287). Volk makes no indication that this passage is similar to another source except the Syriac version of the *Apology*.

⁴⁸⁷ The phrase οὐρανοὺς ἀνῆλθεν (as it appears in the *Apology*) is used outside of the *Apology* in Asterius, *Homilia* 8.31.5. The phrase also appears in John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ii ad Timotheum* 62.627; Manuel Philes, *Carmina inedita* 44; Hesychius, *Commentarius brevis* 18.7; Leontius, *In Pentecosten* line 6, *In Transfigurationem* line 64.

Dionysius Areopagita, *De caelesti hierarchia* 7.3. The only references to Jesus going up to heaven that date from around the time of the composition of the *Apology* and use the verb ἀνοδόν are in Justin Martyr's *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 82.1. The use of ἀνοδόν in this context is more dominant in the fourth century.⁴⁸⁸ The evidence indicates that the passage that refers to Jesus going into heaven using the verb ἀνῆλθεν was not necessarily part of the Greek *Vorlage*. Given that there is no comparison to the other versions of the *Apology*, it is rather probable that it was later redacted and inserted into the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*.

The verb ἀνῆλθεν is, indeed, used six times in *B&I*. The first instance is in chapter 27, and it is later used twice in chapter 31 as well as in chapters 32, 33 and 34. Only chapter 34 refers to Jesus ascending into heaven.⁴⁸⁹ The word ἀνοδόν, on the other hand, appears twice in chapter 8⁴⁹⁰ and once in chapter 33⁴⁹¹ of *B&I*; all three instances refer to Jesus going up to heaven. Ἀνοδόν in chapter 33 has been lifted by the redactor of *B&I* from Symeon Metaphrastes' *Vita S. Thomæ Apostoli* 9,22-3. However, neither use of ἀνοδόν in chapter 8 of *B&I* has an external source.⁴⁹² This underlines that the reference to 'after Jesus went into heaven' in the *Apology* may have been inserted by the redactor of *B&I*. The idea of Jesus ascending into heaven does appear elsewhere in *B&I*,

⁴⁸⁸ For example Eusebius, *Church History* 1.13.4, *Demonstratio Evangelica* 1.1.6, 3.6.39, 4.17.19, 6.18.23, *Epistula ad Constantium Augustum* 20.1545, 20.1548, *Commentaria in Psalmos* 23.173, *Frgamenta in Lucam* 24.589, *De Ecclesiastica Theologica* 3.5; Theodorus Mopsuestenus, *Expositio in Psalmos* 67.19a-b; Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium* 3,1.222; Athanasius, *De Incarnatione verbi* 25.5, 25.6 (twice), *De synodis Armini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 25.5, 27.3. And in *Apologia contra Arianos sive Apologia secunda* 42.5, *De synodis Armini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria* 26,1.3 as well as *Expositio in Psalmos* 67.25 (27.300); *Symbolum synodi Antiochenae anno 345* 1; as well as in Basil of Caesarea, Apollinaris, Cyril Hierosolymitanus, Theodorus Heracleensis, Ephraem Syrus, Socrates Scholasticus, John Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Cyril of Alexander, Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Salaminus Hermias Sozomenus, Proclus, Hesychius and Basilus Seleuciensis.

⁴⁸⁹ συνανήγαγε γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνερχόμενος, ὅθεν ἐτύγγανε καταβεβηκώς. This passage has not been copied from an external source by the redactor of *B&I*.

⁴⁹⁰ οἱ καὶ παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν ἐγγράφως μετὰ τὴν ἔνδοξον τοῦ δεσπότου εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνοδόν τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτεῖαν, τὰς τε διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ θαύματα κατὰ τὸ ἐγχαροῦν γραφῇ παραδοῦναι ... ἔπειτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀχράντου πάθους οὐπὲρ ὑπέμεινε δι' ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος, τῆς τε ἁγίας καὶ τριημέρου ἐγέρσεως, καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνόδου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρουσίας.

⁴⁹¹ τὸ πάθος ἐγνώριζε τοῦ σταυροῦ δι' οὗ σεσώσμεθα, τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως δύναμιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς οὐρανούς ἀνοδόν.

⁴⁹² The second use of ἀνοδόν in chapter 8, according to R. Volk (*Barlaam et Ioasaph* [2006]: 77), refers to Michael Psellus, *Expositio* 66-9 however this is an eleventh century text and therefore the redactor is not reliant on this as a source.

in chapters 1,⁴⁹³ 7,⁴⁹⁴ 19⁴⁹⁵ and 31.⁴⁹⁶ Chapter 19 has been taken from Gregory Nazianzenus' *Orationes* 40-45, 28-39, while the other three examples do not have an external source, each using a different verb for 'ascension'. This would suggest that the redactor does not have a specific preference for which verb should be used for 'ascension'.

In the twenty-second comparison we find again similar ideas in chapters 7 and 27.⁴⁹⁷ The verb *κατεδίκασαν* is used in both places, and is particularly pertinent to the discussion of whether *B&I* relies on the *Apology* or the *Apology* has been altered by the redactor of *B&I*. The verb means 'to pass judgement'; however the context we have in the Greek version of the *Apology* is not found in any other version. *Κατεδίκασαν*, although rarely used in *B&I*, appears in five other places in the novel: chapters 5, 7, 10, 11 and 25. Three of these chapters (7, 10 and 25) refer to the condemnation of Hades, or Hell. The fourth is in chapter 5, when the king condemns Ioasaph to go abroad. The fifth is in chapter 11, where the text discusses those who sin and are condemned. This idea may originate from the *Balavariani*, where it appears in 2.27 and 3.57. The idea of Jesus being condemned upon the cross does not appear in the *Balavariani*; the only two examples of this are in chapters 7 and 27 of *B&I*. Because there is little external evidence, it is impossible to conclude whether *B&I* chapter 7 relies on the *Apology*, or the redactor of *B&I* has changed the *Apology*.

The blame for Jesus' death, or sentence, is different in the *Apology* than it is in chapter 7 of *B&I*. The *Apology* explicitly states that the Jews handed Jesus over to Pilate and 'they demanded a sentence of death by the cross'.⁴⁹⁸ In comparison, chapter 7 describes how the Jews condemned him to death and delivered him to the Gentiles.⁴⁹⁹ The language of chapter 7 of *B&I* is very similar to *Mark* 10:33: that is, the chief priest and scribes 'will condemn him (*κατακρινοῦσιν*) to death; then they will hand him over

⁴⁹³ μετὰ δόξης εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναληφθεῖς.

⁴⁹⁴ μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔνδοξον αὐτοῦ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν.

⁴⁹⁵ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ τε εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεληλυθότα.

⁴⁹⁶ καὶ ἀνέρχεται εἰς οὐρανοῦς.

⁴⁹⁷ Chapter 27: W₁ has an interesting addition after chapter 14.1. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 280.

⁴⁹⁸ καὶ σταυρῷ κατεδίκασαν.

⁴⁹⁹ Καὶ κρατήσαντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔκδοτον τὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐποιήσαντο, ἐκουσίᾳ μέντοι βουλῇ ταῦτα καταδεξαμένου αὐτοῦ.

to the Gentiles (ἔθνεσιν)'. The redactor of *B&I* has clearly taken this information from *Mark*, not from the *Apology*. Nevertheless, this stresses an important aspect of the *Apology*, namely that it does not draw directly upon the Bible as a source. This is something I hope to highlight later on. Another aspect that will be discussed later is the use of 'the Jews'. This noun is not used anywhere other than in the *Apology* and chapter 7 of *B&I*.

Here again, in the twenty-third comparison, we find stylistic similarities and lexicographical parallels between the two chapters. It was after three days that Christ arose.⁵⁰⁰

The twenty-fourth comparison contains the idea of the laws of Christ.⁵⁰¹ The comparison in appendix 3 of the passage on the Christians in the *Apology* reveals that the notion of the Christians having 'the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself graven upon their hearts' appears only in the Greek version of the *Apology*. In contrast to this, chapter 15 of the Syriac version says that the Christians have 'received those commandments [from Christ] which they have engraved on their minds'. It is the use of 'the Lord Jesus Christ' that gives a considerable amount of information. In the *Apology*, the phrase is found only in chapter 2 of the Armenian version, and does not appear at the same point as in the Greek version of the *Apology*. Chapter 7 uses 'commandments of the saviour', whereas the commandments of 'the Lord Jesus Christ' appear only in chapter 27 of *B&I*. 'The commandments of the Lord'⁵⁰² appear in chapters 12, 14, 18,⁵⁰³ 19, 20, 36 and 38. 'The commandments of Christ' appear in chapters 12, 18, 19, 28, 33 and 36. 'The commandments of the Son of God' appear in chapter 19, and 'the commandments of God' in chapters 14, 18 and 39. It is evident therefore that *B&I* is drawing on a range of expressions, and that this section seems to have been over-formed or enlarged by the redactor.

Although in the twenty-fifth comparison, a discussion of those who wander in darkness, we find little resemblance in the vocabulary between chapters 7 and 27 of *B&I*, there are common ideas, namely that God's acting in Jesus leads to an

⁵⁰⁰ This idea also appears in the Syriac version of the *Apology* chapter 2. This idea, however, is not located at the same point in the other versions of the *Apology*. Chapter 7: ἐξάνεστη is replaced with ἀνέστη in H. Chapter 27: ἀνέβιω is replaced with ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν in K.

⁵⁰¹ Chapter 27: after κυρίου K adds καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

⁵⁰² All of these examples use κυρίου.

⁵⁰³ This is the only example that uses Δεσποτικῇ instead of κυρίου.

enlightening (chapter 7) for those who, as stated in chapter 27, were wandering in darkness. The idea of ‘wandering in darkness’ of chapter 27 has a parallel in the Syriac version, which reads ‘they grope as if in the dark’. The idea⁵⁰⁴ is not found anywhere else in *B&I*. Therefore it is likely that the redactor has taken this idea from the Greek *Vorlage* and inserted the idea, in his own words, into chapter 7 of *B&I*.

In the final comparison the texts share a similar context, but approach the content differently. *B&I* refers to the Christians as ‘abolishing idolatry’,⁵⁰⁵ whereas the *Apology* refers to the Jews ‘being idolatrous’, thus implying that the Christians are not idolatrous (given that this follows a long discourse on how the Chaldeans, Greeks and Egyptians are idolatrous). The idea of pagans being ‘idolatrous’ can be described as biblical (even the criticism of Jews falling into idolatry), as it appears throughout the Old and New Testament.⁵⁰⁶ The redactor uses the same language as we have it in chapter 7 elsewhere in *B&I*, calling idolatry ‘superstitious’ in chapters 1 and 36.

To sum up these comparisons: We have discovered that the basis for chapter 7 was clearly the Greek *Apology* which the redactor had at hand and then inserted into his narrative in chapter 27. However, some of the passages with which he has dealt with in chapter 7, he seems to have shortened when he inserted the *Apology* into his text in chapter 27. At times he also may have changed the wording of the *Apology*. Both language and ideas from the *Apology* have left clear traces in chapter 7 and in other places of *B&I*.

Now that we have seen that and how the *Apology* has impacted on another chapter (or on other chapters) of *B&I*, and how the redactor himself was influenced by this source, we can go into more detail on a specific, but important, topic and ask what the nature of the text is that is given in chapter 27 with regards to the three races of humanity. We look at this as there is a discrepancy between the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* and the Syriac and Armenian versions as to how many races there are.

⁵⁰⁴ The closest idea to this can be located in chapter 19 of *B&I*. The text refers to the Gentiles who have had their understanding about God ‘darkened’ (σκοτίζω).

⁵⁰⁵ Here we can refer to the authorship attribution problem and again question the authorship of *B&I* to John of Damascus because the Christians are seen in chapter 7 as those who ‘abolished the superstitious error of idolatry.’

⁵⁰⁶ *Exodus* 32:2-10; *Deuteronomy* 29:16-28; *Psalms* 115:2-8; *Jeremiah* 10:3-5; *Acts* 7:41-3; *Romans* 2:22; *1 Corinthians* 12:2; *1 Peter* 4:3-5 to name but a few.

Although differences are not initially surprising, it is the comparison between these in relation to the novel of *B&I* that we get results pertinent to our study.

B) The Different Races of Humanity

<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Apology according to the Syriac</i>	<i>Apology according to the Armenian</i>
Three classes of humanity:	Four races of humanity:	Four races of humanity:
Worshippers of so-called gods	Barbarians	Barbarians and certain others
	Greeks	Greeks and others
Jews	Jews	Jews
Christians	Christians	Christians
the worshippers of the so-called gods' are divided into three classes:		-
Chaldaeans	Barbarians	-
Greeks	Greeks	-
Egyptians	Egyptians	-
Jews	Jews	-
Christians	Christians	-

As one can see from this table,⁵⁰⁷ according to the Greek version of the *Apology*, there are only three races of humanity:⁵⁰⁸ 'those that are worshippers of them whom ye call gods, and Jews, and Christians',⁵⁰⁹ whereas the Syriac and Armenian versions break the

⁵⁰⁷ The table is adopted from M. Vinzent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (2014): 248 and enlarged.

⁵⁰⁸ Scholars to date have always translated the expression as 'the different races of men.' This, however, is an old translation and we now must offer a modern translation : 'the different races of humanity.'

⁵⁰⁹ 'Three races of men' are known from the *Kerygma Petrou* (Greek, Jew and Christian), and three are also present in the Georgian Martyrium of Eustatius of Mzchetha (Persian, Hebrew and Christian. See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Aristide Apologie* [2003]: 428). A number of discussions and studies have taken place whether the 'original' *Apology* had three or four races. Such a discussion is not pertinent to our inquiry here. See F. Lauchert, 'Über die Apologie des Aristides' (1894): 296; M. Picard, *L'apologie* (1892): 23-4; R. Seeberg, 'Die Apologie' (1891): 948-50.

number of races of men into four (Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians). Interestingly, the Syriac and the Armenian versions are not only identical in the number four, both also then elaborate on exactly those four, while the Greek misses out the Greeks here in the opening.

After that, like the Greek that duplicates and broadens the first response to the three races, there is a restart in the Syriac. As Vincent states:

S – strangely enough – re-starts with a description of the ‘Barbarians’ (ch.s III – VII) ..., paralleled by GP with one of the differences that S speaks of ‘Barbarians’ where GP has ‘Chaldaeans’, and yet S remains parallel to GP with both having after the ‘Chaldaeans’ (GP) *respice* ‘Barbarians’ (S) the ‘Greeks’ (ch.s VIII – XI), the ‘Egyptians’ (ch. XII), the ‘Jews’ (ch. XIV) and the ‘Christians’ (ch.s XV - XVI), followed by an epilogue (ch. XVII).⁵¹⁰

Contrary to Vincent’s assumption, that the three races (with three sub-categories) might be the more complex, yet earlier version, it seems that the four races, present in the Syriac and Armenian versions may have been the earlier one, which either by the redactor of the *B&I* or already one of his *Vorlage*, has been re-structured. If the Armenian had preserved the earlier version, perhaps the old *Apology* did not comprise more than the short two chapters as we have it in the Armenian version. A first broadening would then have taken place in the Syriac’s and GP’s *Vorlage* with a duplication of their criticism of the four races and the inclusion of the ‘Egyptians’ which, of course, was in tension with the old opening where only mention was made of four races, not five. It seems that such a reworking must be linked with a redaction that took place in an area where ‘Egyptians’ played a major role, perhaps in a city like Alexandria, or another place in Egypt. A further re-working would then have been made when the *Vorlage* of the Greek version re-structured the opening accordingly and now spoke of three races and began sub-classifying races. As the ‘Chaldeans’ are replacing the ‘Barbarians’ this re-formulation may have taken place by somebody to whom the specific name of the ‘Chaldeans’ made sense. The clue for the change is given by the fitting of the *Apology* into the narrative frame of the *B&I* as we will see further below.

The compact and consistent structure of the Armenian, compared to the inconsistent duplication of the Greek and the Syriac is a strong indicator that the short

⁵¹⁰ M. Vincent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (2014): 243.

Armenian, not the longer Syriac and Greek versions, has preserved us the original shape of the *Apology* (of course, as we have seen already, not the precise wording of it).

Be this how it may be, the question arises whether on this topic of races the *Apology* influenced the redactor to borrow ideas and terminology that he found in the *Apology* or conversely, whether the redactor of *B&I* changed the text of the *Apology* or both?

The different structure and terminology in the Greek version will give us some indications. With the three races in the Greek version and its further subdivision, the first race of humanity is detailed into the three races of the ‘Chaldeans’, ‘Greeks’ and ‘Egyptians’. In contrast to the Armenian and Syriac versions, the ‘Greek’ race is left out in the first discussion of the races, while it has been placed between the ‘Chaldeans’ and the ‘Egyptians’ into ‘the worshippers of the so-called gods’. Hence the first and main race of the ‘worshippers of the so-called gods’ are the ‘Chaldeans’. When the Syriac version claims that the ‘Egyptians’ are ‘more evil and ignorant’ than the ‘Greeks’ and the ‘Barbarians’, the same we also read in the Greek version.

None of these ‘worshippers of the so-called gods’ are treated in as much depth in *B&I* elsewhere as they are in the *Apology*, and yet we find some more information, especially about the ‘Chaldeans’ which allows us to contextualize this information in *B&I*. The *Apology* in its Greek versions (with parallels in the Syriac and Armenian versions) views the idolatry of the ‘Chaldeans’ as follows: ‘They stray after the elements, locking up idols in shrines and worshipping them both. The Chaldeans have philosophers who are misguided and pursue their own desires.’ Then, the ‘Chaldeans’ are mentioned three times outside of the *Apology* chapter, in chapters 3, 26 and 31 of *B&I*. Chapter 3 discusses the men schooled in the star-lore of the Chaldeans, who went to the king to foresee Ioasaph’s future.⁵¹¹ A similar idea is found in chapter 26: ‘wise men of the Chaldeans and Indians are brought to the king’s kingdom’.⁵¹² Finally, in chapter 31 Ioasaph condemns the Indians’ idolatry, declaring it to be similar to that of the ‘Chaldean race’.⁵¹³ Astonishingly, despite the mention of Indians, the *Apology* does

⁵¹¹ Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ τῶν γενεθλίῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐορτῇ συνήλθον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐξ ἐπιλογῆς ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ πεντηκονταπέντε, περὶ τὴν ἀστροθεάμονα τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐσχολακότες σοφίαν (*B&I* 3).

⁵¹² Ὅσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς μύστας καὶ νεωκόρους τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ σοφοὺς τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν ὄντας, συνεκαλέσατο, καὶ τινὰς οἰωνοσκόπους καὶ γόητας καὶ μάντεις, ὅπως ἂν Χριστιανῶν περιγένοιτο (*B&I* 26).

⁵¹³ οὐκ αἰδεῖσθε, ταλαίπωροι, πυρὸς ἀκοιμήτου βορά, ὁμοίωμα γένους Χαλδαϊκοῦ, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε νεκρὰ ξόανα προσκυνοῦντες, χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔργα; (*B&I* 31).

not include a section against them, although the ‘Chaldeans’, set in proximity to the ‘Indians,’ seem to serve this purpose of also criticizing the Indians. While in *Apology* 2.2 we find the list of nations who worship multiple gods, ‘Indians’ are missing, but it seems, as already Pouderon and Pierre have suggested, that either the redactor of *B&I* has changed the term Barbarian for Chaldean, or the Syriac translator had changed the term Chaldean for Barbarian.⁵¹⁴ In the latter case one would need to speak about the common *Vorlage* of the Syriac and the Armenian versions, as also the Armenian version knows of the ‘Barbarians’. As we can see that ‘Chaldeans’ are re-appearing three times elsewhere in *B&I*, whereas ‘Barbarian’ do not, and with the proximity between ‘Chaldeans’ and ‘Indians’, it is most likely that when the *Apology* was inserted into *B&I* the redactor has made the change from ‘Barbarians’ to ‘Chaldeans’ without deviating from the other criticized ‘worshippers of the so-called gods’. In addition, he seemed to have noticed the already existing distortion between the original four races mentioned and the five races criticism as he read it in the *Vorlage* of the Syriac. Hence, he re-structured the opening and the further argument so that it became consistent again with the mention of three races and the subgrouping of the first. In this case, we have a good indication that the redactor of *B&I* did change the Greek version of the *Apology* for ‘Chaldean’ (the redactor uses the term with a similar purpose in chapter 3 of *B&I*), although we notice that he wanted to preserve the *Apology* as much as he could. Instead of adding too much by himself, he has written his own attack against the Indians outside the inserted *Apology*, placed after the *Apology* into chapter 31. Yet, there is a close relation between his chapter 27 (the *Apology*) and chapter 31, as we will soon discuss how the redactor may be relying on the *Apology* for sections of discussion in chapter 31 of *B&I*: there are passages describing Chaldean worship that are evidently borrowed from the *Apology*. Furthermore, what the redactor states about the beliefs of the Indians, as found throughout *B&I*, resonates with the beliefs of the Chaldeans as found in the *Apology*. That the present content or structure of the *Apology* does not fully fit the purpose of *B&I* suggests that the redactor had not considerably altered it. He seems to have been comfortable in changing or adding words within the *Apology*, but did not want to insert sections of any length (although such additions seem to have been made prior by the redactors of the *Vorlage* of the Syriac and Greek, both in its *B&I* version and the Greek fragments).

⁵¹⁴ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre (*Apologie* [2003]: 154).

As previously discussed in chapter 1.A.iv of this thesis, *B&I* can be described as ‘a manual for educated Christians’. Therefore, there would be no need for the redactor to edit the *Apology*, as the text he inserts does everything the redactor requires it to do: it provides a lengthy defence of Christianity which was not contained in its parent text, while the *Balavariani*, the Georgian version of *B&I*, is a novel written for ascetic Christians, to help them keep firm in their ascetic faith. The purpose of the Greek *B&I* is very different, then, from that of its parent text, the *Balavariani*. Therefore, either the redactor has not understood the purpose of the *Balavariani*, or he has intentionally created a new purpose for his redacted text. Nevertheless, the redactor has not inserted an attack against the Indians, which leaves us with only one possible conclusion: the redactor did not want to corrupt (to any great extent) the text of the *Apology* as he had it in front of him.

The use of ‘Chaldeans’ seems to stem from the Georgian *Balavariani*. In the *Balavariani* Abenes is described as a man of ‘strong pagan beliefs’.⁵¹⁵ Nakor is similarly described as a ‘pagan’.⁵¹⁶ Neither of these passages, however, fully correlate to the use of ‘Chaldean’ in *B&I*. When the Greek *B&I* text describes Abenes, he qualifies him with a ‘Greek’ way of life, the only occasion outside of the *Apology* where ‘Greek’ is used: ‘But his soul was utterly crushed by poverty, and choked with many vices, for he was of the Greek way,⁵¹⁷ and sore distraught by the superstitious error of his idol-worship.’⁵¹⁸ If this statement about Abenes is correct, it means that the king will have listened to the wise men who make laws for themselves and slay one another; practised sorcery, adultery, theft and intercourse with males⁵¹⁹ and indulged in making war and putting people into captivity.⁵²⁰ Some of these do describe the king’s habits: he

⁵¹⁵ *Balavariani* 1.1.

⁵¹⁶ *Balavariani* 3.44.

⁵¹⁷ Here the redactor has chosen the proper noun for ‘Greek’: ἑλληνικῆς. Throughout *B&I*, as well as the *Apology*, ἔθνος is the preferred noun. This can mean ‘Gentile’ as well as a ‘heathen’ (or can refer to a whole ‘nation’). *B&I* commonly uses ἔθνος in reference to ‘nations’ – this is used in chapters 1, 7 (twice), 9 (twice), 11, 24, 27 (six times), 35, 40. We have ἔθνος assigned to ‘Egyptian’ in chapter 7 and is used in reference to a ‘foreign land’ in chapter 18. Only three times (chapters 7, 19 and 27) could ἔθνος be interpreted to mean ‘Gentiles’ or ‘Heathen’. Chapter 7 uses ἔθνος in reference to Jesus being handed over to the Gentiles. Chapter 19 refers to the Gentiles who have had their understanding about God ‘darkened’ (σκοτίζω).

⁵¹⁸ κατὰ ψυχὴν δὲ ἐσχάτη πιεζόμενος πτωχεῖα καὶ πολλοῖς κακοῖς συμπνιγόμενος, τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ὑπάρχων μοίρας, καὶ σφόδρα περὶ τὴν δεισιδαίμονα πλάνην τῶν εἰδώλων ἐπτοημένος (*B&I* 1).

⁵¹⁹ *Apology* 13.

⁵²⁰ *Apology* 8.

was driven to slaughter the Christians, and did listen to wise men and sorcerers (such as those who came to give prophecies about Ioasaph; as well as Theudas). Perhaps the redactor of *B&I* may have been relying on the *Apology* to describe the way the king lived his life and, conversely identified the ‘Greek’ way of life with that of the Chaldeans. If this were so, it would indicate that the Greek version was created in a Greek speaking environment, while the redactor still had strong views on ‘Indians’ and ‘Chaldeans’ (resp. Babylonian?), a profile that would comply with Euthymius, the Georgian, at the monastery of St. Sabas.

In the *Balavariani*, Nakor is described as a pagan,⁵²¹ whereas when the character is first introduced in *B&I* he is described as a ‘hermit’.⁵²² In chapter 28 of *B&I*, Nachor is also identified as ‘an astrologer’.⁵²³ It is clear that the Greek redactor is not relying on the parent text for an understanding of Nachor. Instead, when he describes Nachor as ‘an astrologer’, it appears that he may be relying on the *Apology*. Although the term ‘astrologer’ is not explicitly used in the *Apology*, it is nevertheless implied. Thus far it is possible to conclude that the use of ‘Chaldean’ and ‘Greek’ in *B&I* by the redactor has been influenced by the content of the *Apology*, while the terminology of the *Apology* has been impacted by the redactor. But what about the third class of those who worship the gods: the Egyptians?

The ‘Egyptians,’ are mentioned three times in a relatively small section of chapter 7:⁵²⁴

Wherefore also the Lord was pleased to multiply his seed beyond measure, and called them ‘a peculiar people’, and brought them forth out of bondage to the Egyptian nation, and to one Pharaoh a tyrant, by strange and terrible signs and wonders wrought by the hand of Moses and Aaron, holy men, honoured with the gift of prophecy; by whom also he punished the Egyptians in fashion worthy of their wickedness, and led the Israelites (for thus the people descended from Abraham were called) through the Red Sea upon dry land, the waters dividing and making a wall on the right hand and

⁵²¹ *Balavariani* 3.44.

⁵²² πρεσβύτερον μονετημίτην (*B&I* 22).

⁵²³ τὸν ἀστρολόγον.

⁵²⁴ ‘Egypt’ is mentioned in chapter 1 of *B&I* three times: twice it refers to the location of the country in relation to the Indian country. The third time the text notes that there were monasteries in Egypt.

a wall on the left. But when Pharaoh and the Egyptians pursued and went in after them, the waters returned and utterly destroyed them.⁵²⁵

Nowhere else do the ‘Egyptians’ appear in *B&I*. This passage has its roots in a few passages in *Exodus*,⁵²⁶ and therefore does not need to be taken from or influence by the *Apology*.⁵²⁷ It has been suggested by Pouderon and Pierre⁵²⁸ that the redactor of *B&I* has changed the ‘prologue’ (chapter 2.2 of the *Apology*) to include the Egyptians, as the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology* contain a ‘prologue’ which does not mention the Egyptians (just the Barbarians, Greeks, Jews and Christians), although, one would need to add, that the Egyptians are dealt with in the Syriac version in chapter 12 of the *Apology*. Here, unlike in chapter 2.2 of the *Apology*, the Syriac and Greek *B&I* version suggest the Egyptians are a separate race all together. The evidence suggests, there is no reason why the redactor of *B&I* would have reworked the *Apology* to include four races when he himself does not discuss the Egyptians in any depth, but it seems that he has only followed his *Vorlage* which, in this case, is parallel to the Syriac version. The three races of the *B&I* version, appears more elegant and more consistent, than the ‘four race’ Syriac version of the five race criticism.

The Greek version of the *Apology* uses the term γένος or ‘race’ three times in chapter 2.2. It refers to three races: ‘those that are worshippers of them whom ye call gods, the Jews, and the Christians’.⁵²⁹ As previously discussed, the Syriac and Armenian

⁵²⁵ Διὸ καὶ εἰς πλῆθος ἄπειρον τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν ὁ δεσπότης εὐδόκησε καὶ λαὸν περιούσιον αὐτῷ ὠνόμασε, καὶ δουλωθέντας αὐτοὺς ἔθνηι Αἰγυπτίῳ καὶ Φαραῶ τινι τυράννῳ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι φρικτοῖς καὶ ἐξαισίοις ἐξήγαγεν ἐκεῖθεν διὰ Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρών, ἀνδρῶν ἁγίων καὶ χάριτι προφητείας δοξασθέντων: δι’ ὧν καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐκόλασεν ἀξίως τῆς αὐτῶν πονηρίας καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας – οὕτω γὰρ ὁ λαὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπόγονος ἐκέκλητο – διὰ ξηρᾶς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν διήγαγε, διασχισθέντων τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τεῖχος ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τεῖχος ἐξ εὐωνύμων γεγεννημένων: τοῦ δὲ Φαραῶ καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων κατ’ ἴχνος αὐτῶν εἰσελθόντων, ἐπαναστραφέντα τὰ ὕδατα ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἀπώλεσεν.

⁵²⁶ 14:28-9 and 19:5.

⁵²⁷ See also E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 71. Hennecke only compares the different versions of the *Apology* and does not compare the evidence with the contents of *B&I*.

⁵²⁸ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003):152.

⁵²⁹ ὅτι τρία γένη εἰσὶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, ὧν εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν παρ’ ὑμῖν λεγομένων θεῶν προσκυνηταί, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ Χριστιανοί.

versions include a fourth ‘race’.⁵³⁰ ‘Race’ is used throughout chapter 2 of the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology*. The Syriac also uses ‘race’ in chapters 8.1, 9.3, 11.4 and 17.1; however none of these cases are parallel to any other version of the *Apology*. Γένος is used in conjunction with ‘Chaldeans’ in chapter 31 of *B&I*. It is not the redactor’s style to use ‘race’ for a nation, such as the Chaldeans. Rather, in *B&I*, γένος is predominantly used to refer to the ‘human race’.⁵³¹ Only on one occasion does the redactor refer to the ‘Christian race’,⁵³² similar to what appears in chapter 31 of *B&I*. The term ‘race’ does not appear in the *Balavariani*. Therefore the evidence indicates that the redactor of *B&I* has borrowed ‘race’ in the context of ‘Chaldean race’ or ‘Christian race’ from the *Apology*.

The *Apology* describes the first race as those who worship ‘the gods’. Does the use of this term impact *B&I* or does the redactor of *B&I* change the *Apology*? The worshipping of ‘gods’ or ‘idols’ is a common theme, which runs throughout the Syriac version of the *Apology*, as well as *B&I*. No such theme is present in the *Balavariani*. Since the only ‘God’ mentioned in the *Balavariani* is the Christian God, this idea did not stem from the Georgian text. However, ‘idols’ are mentioned throughout the Georgian parent text of *B&I*. It is plausible, although not certain, that the use of ‘idols’ has originated from the Georgian text. In the twelfth comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, we find strong similarities in the theme of worshipping ‘gods’ and ‘idols’. If we look to chapter 23 of *B&I*, Volk thinks⁵³³ that the redactor is here relying on the *Apology*:⁵³⁴ Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν πάντων ἀρνησάμενος θεὸν τοὺς μὴ ὄντας προσηγόρευσας θεοῦς. Outside of chapter 7, this is the only other place where Volk indicates that the redactor of *B&I* is relying on the *Apology* for his information. However, because the theme of worshipping ‘gods’ (and ‘idols’) is so thoroughly

⁵³⁰ ‘For to the Greek mind the Jews were themselves barbarians... Moreover, there seems to be no parallel to this fourfold classification of races in early Christian literature’. See J. R. Harris, ‘Celsus’ (1921-2): 166. In Philo, there are three levels of pagan religions (*De Decalogo* 14) and Josephus presents a difference between Judaism and the peoples of the world (*Contra Apionem* 1.2). In early Christian literature in *Kerygma Petrou* 3-5, Clement of Alexandria’s *Stromata* 6.44, Origen’s *Contra Celsum* 1.2 we have a three fold division of races: Greeks, Jews and Christians. See also K.-G. Essig, ‘Erwägungen zum geschichtlichen Ort’ (1986): 176; R. Raabe, ‘Die Apologie’ (1892): 28-9; J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 90.

⁵³¹ *B&I* 7, 14, 24, 34 and 37. This is also found in chapter 2.1 of the *Apology* in the Syriac, Armenian and Greek.

⁵³² *B&I* 1.

⁵³³ *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 224.

⁵³⁴ παρεισάγοντες θεοὺς πολλοὺς γεγενῆσθαι (*Apology* 8.1).

embedded throughout *B&I*, it is hard to ascertain whether the insertion is solely reliant upon the *Apology*. Furthermore, such a conclusion becomes inconsequential when we reflect upon the way the redactor integrates biblical passages into *B&I*. The theme of worshipping ‘gods’ or ‘idols’ could equally have stemmed from a biblical source.

The Greek version of the *Apology* uses φιλόσοφος twice. In both instances (chapters 3.2 and 13.2-3), we find a parallel between the Greek and the Syriac versions of the *Apology*. Further, the Syriac uses ‘philosophers’ elsewhere in chapters 3.2 and 13.2-3 (with no parallel to the Greek). Each of these examples refers to either Greek or Chaldean philosophers. ‘Philosopher’ (in reference to Aristides the Philosopher) is used three more times in the Syriac version of the *Apology*: twice in the opening *lemma*, with the second of these contained in a parallel with the Armenian version, and once at the end of the text. Outside of the *Apology* chapter, there is infrequent use of ‘philosophers’ in *B&I*, with the term appearing in chapters 5, 26, 32 and 36. Chapter 5 discusses those ‘who spend their lives in such philosophies’. Chapters 26 and 32 refer to the king’s pagan orators and philosophers. Finally, Chapter 36 discusses how Barachias was willing to help Nachor defend Christianity, when Nachor was arguing with the philosophers of the king. In these four cases, ‘philosophers’ is used in a similar context to its use in the *Apology* chapters 3 and 13. However, the term ‘philosopher’ does not appear in the *Balavariani*. Instead, we have a possible alternative to ‘philosophers’: ‘wise’. In the *Balavariani* this adjective is used to describe Balahvar,⁵³⁵ Christian men,⁵³⁶ those who have not gained complete knowledge of an issue,⁵³⁷ a youth,⁵³⁸ the king’s followers,⁵³⁹ those who think they are wise but are ‘besotted’ by their idolatry,⁵⁴⁰ and a wise man.⁵⁴¹ We trust that D.M. Lang has created continuity by translating the same Georgian word as ‘wise’ each time it is used. If this is the case, it shows us the diverse usage of the word ‘wise’ in the *Balavariani*. Only on a few occasions however does the *Balavariani* refer to a similar idea as we have in *B&I*: the philosophers, or wise

⁵³⁵ *Balavariani* 1.9.

⁵³⁶ *Balavariani* 2.16, 2.23 (thrice), 2.28, 2.29, 3.59.

⁵³⁷ *Balavariani* 2.28, 2.30.

⁵³⁸ *Balavariani* 2.24.

⁵³⁹ *Balavariani* 3.46, 3.58, 3.59.

⁵⁴⁰ *Balavariani* 3.61.

⁵⁴¹ *Balavariani* 2.16.

men, are those who are associated with the king and his beliefs. The Greek word for ‘wise’, σοφία, appears throughout *B&I*. Similar to the *Balavariani*, a broad range of uses of ‘wise’ can be found in *B&I*, including references to ‘wise’ men who have beliefs that are akin to the king’s.⁵⁴² Because of the use of ‘wise’ men in the *Balavariani*, it is impossible to discern whether the redactor of *B&I* has used the term ‘philosophers’ as an extension of ‘wise’ men. Furthermore, we cannot know whether the redactor has gleaned the use of ‘philosophers’ from the *Apology* (given the fact that *B&I* uses ‘philosophers’ in an identical way to the *Apology*) or from another external source.

We have seen the wide range of references that may, coincidentally or otherwise, have parallels in the *Apology*. One aspect that *B&I* may be drawing from the *Apology* is the reference to the Greek gods Ares, Aphrodite and Dionysius in chapter 31.⁵⁴³ We know from the text comparison that all three Greek gods appear in the same locations in the Syriac version of the *Apology* as they do in the Greek. Therefore, how similar is *B&I* to the *Apology* in this chapter 31?

⁵⁴² σοφία (the verb and noun forms of the word) appears in *B&I* 3 (refers to the wise men ‘schoolled in the star-lore of the Chaldeans’ which according to *B&I* later have the same beliefs as the Indians), 25 (wise men in general, however implies that the wise men of the king’s race was greatest), 26 (wise men of the Chaldeans and Indians, mentioned twice), 28 (wise men of the kings, mentioned twice) and 32 (wise men of the kings) of *B&I*.

⁵⁴³ For a discussion of the differences in polytheistic gods between the different versions of the *Apology* see E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 75-82, 115-9. This parallel may be found in the thirteenth comparison of chapter 2.C of this study.

<i>B&I Chapter 31</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
<p>Ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον ἀσκήσας, στρατιωτικῆς ἀντίμιμον ιδέας ξόανον ιδρύσας, ἐκάλεσεν Ἄρην· ὁ δὲ γυναικομανοῦς ἐπιθυμίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνατυπώσάμενος, ἐθεοποίησε τὸ πάθος, Ἀφροδίτην καλέσας. Ἄλλος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοινίας ἔνεκεν, ἔπλασεν εἰδῶλον καὶ προσωνόμασε Διόνυσον.</p> <p>Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν ἔστησαν εἰδῶλα· τὰ πάθη γὰρ αὐτῶν θεοὺς ὠνόμασαν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν βωμοῖς ἡδυπαθεῖς εἰσιν ὀρχήσεις, πορνικῶν ἁσμάτων ἦχοι καὶ μανιώδεις ὀρμαί. Τίς δὲ καθεξῆς τὴν βδελυρὰν αὐτῶν ἐξεῖποι πρᾶξιν; Τίς ἀνέξεται τὰς ἐκείνων αἰσχρολογίας καταλέγων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μολῦναι στόμα; Ἀλλὰ πᾶσι δῆλα κἂν ἡμεῖς σιωπῶμεν. Ταῦτά σου τὰ σεβάσματα, Θεοῦδᾶ, τῶν ξοάνων ἀναισθητότερε. Τούτοις με ἐπιτρέπεις προσκυνεῖν, ταῦτα σέβεσθαι; Τῆς σῆς ὄντως κακουργίας καὶ ἀσυνέτου γνώμης ἢ βουλή· ἀλλ’ ὅμοιος αὐτῶν γένοιο, σύ τε καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς.</p>	<p>Ἄρης δὲ παρεισάγεται θεὸς εἶναι πολεμιστῆς καὶ ζηλωτῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμητῆς θρεμμάτων καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν· (10.4) ... Ἀφροδίτην δὲ λέγουσι καὶ αὐτὴν θεὰν εἶναι μοιχαλίδα. (11.3)</p> <p>... Τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, νυκτερινὰς ἄγοντα ἐορτὰς καὶ διδάσκαλον μέθης (10.5)</p> <p>τοιούτους παρεισάγοντες θεοὺς</p> <p>καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν ποιοῦντες καὶ θεοποιούμενοι τὰ κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα εἰδῶλα. (13.1)</p>

Although these passages are not entirely parallel, the similarity in key terms can be observed.⁵⁴⁴ We must note that no Greek gods are mentioned in the *Balavarani*, which suggests that the redactor of *B&I* has drawn the reference to these three gods from elsewhere. And although the description of the Greek gods slightly differ in how they are described in chapter 31 and the *Apology* their mention, even in the same series, point to the close relation of chapter 31 of the *B&I* and the *Apology* as included in chapter 27. The more detailed description in chapter 31 reveals that the author included his additional background knowledge for the three gods not into chapter 27 with the *Apology*, but reserved this information for it being added into the later chapter 31 – a similar way of adding information, as we noticed it before with his dealing with the ‘Indians’. Some of the content from chapter 31 of *B&I* however, sums up parts of the

⁵⁴⁴ Chapter 27: παρεισάγεται θεὸς εἶναι is replaced with καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς ὢν ὡς μυθεύονται in HW₁. Τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον παρεισάγουσι has been replaced with Ὅμοίως καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον λέγουσι in HW₁ (W₁ then omits θεὸν εἶναι)

Apology: ‘fashioning idols and naming them gods after their lusts’.⁵⁴⁵ Further lexical parallels between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology* can be identified; these will be discussed later.

We can conclude that it is possible that the redactor’s use of Ares, Aphrodite and Dionysius in *B&I* was gleaned from *the Apology*. This is because there is no mention of any other Greek or foreign god throughout the rest of *B&I*, and no reliance upon the *Balavariani*. Despite this, it is also possible that the redactor did not rely solely on the *Apology* for his knowledge of these gods. It is likely that he had further sources to hand. However, let us return the focus to the ‘three races’, and more specifically to the use of ‘Jews’ in *B&I* and the *Apology*.

The Greek, Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology* mention the Jews a number of times. A parallel between the Syriac, Armenian and Greek versions can be found in chapter 2.2. A further parallel occurs in chapter 14.1 of the Syriac and Greek versions of the *Apology*, and another throughout chapter 2 of the Syriac and Armenian versions. It is important to state that the different versions of the *Apology* do not use any other word or term for ‘Jews’.⁵⁴⁶ Therefore the use of ‘Jews’ (and only ‘Jews’) can be concretely located in the *Apology*, but how does *B&I* use the noun Ἰουδαίους? The twenty-second comparison between *B&I* chapter 7 and the *Apology* contains the only other occasion where the redactor of *B&I* uses ‘Jews’.⁵⁴⁷ Why is this the case? It is possible that the redactor of *B&I* is relying on the *Apology* for this selected passage. However, as previously concluded in the twenty-second comparison between *B&I* chapter 7 and the *Apology*, this passage in *B&I* refers to *Mark* 10:33. The fundamental difference between this synoptic Gospel passage and *B&I* is that the Gospel passage does not use Ἰουδαίους. Instead, the Gospel uses ‘chief priests and scribes’, whereas *B&I* mentions the chief priests and ‘rulers of the Jews’. ‘Jews’ has been deliberately inserted by the redactor. The second possible reason for the insertion of ‘Jews’ is more hypothetical: the redactor of *B&I* saw the ‘Jews’ as those who condemned Jesus to death, whereas the ‘Israelites’ (a term the redactor uses twice elsewhere in *B&I*⁵⁴⁸) are a

⁵⁴⁵ See chapters 8 to 11 of the *Apology*, where Greek gods are mentioned and their vices are discussed.

⁵⁴⁶ Such as ‘Israelites’ or ‘Galileans.’

⁵⁴⁷ Φθόνῳ δὲ τῆς θαυμαστῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ θεοπρεποῦς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἀπείρων θαυμάτων οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

⁵⁴⁸ Something which will be discussed below.

part of the Christian lineage. Volk's critical edition indicates no alternative forms of 'Jews'; that is, no manuscripts use 'Israelites' instead. This leads us to conclude that the redactor of *B&I* may have inserted it as a deduction from the *Apology* and even included it into the Marcan passage, giving chapter 7 of *B&I* a more detailed context.

The term 'Israelites' occurs in chapters 7 and 11 of *B&I*. 'Israel' appears in chapters 9, 26, 30 and 32; of these four instances, only chapter 9 refers to God, through the phrase 'Holy one of Israel'.⁵⁴⁹ Elsewhere, 'Israel' or 'Israelites' refers to the Jewish nation of old. The redactor of *B&I* makes a clear distinction between 'Jews' and 'Israelites', using 'Israelites' when discussing the Old Testament and the Jewish nation prior to the time of Christ, and 'Jews' when discussing the Jewish nation during the time of Christ. This suggests that he has given careful thought as to which term to use, and has deliberately chosen the term 'Jews' in chapter 7. This choice becomes clearer still when we discover that neither 'Jews' nor 'Israelites' appear in the *Balavariani*. Therefore, the redactor of *B&I* has chosen to include them.

Moses, Aaron, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob do not appear in the *Balavariani*. These key Jewish figures do, however, appear in *B&I*, with all except Aaron appearing in the *Apology*. Moses however only features in the Greek version of the *Apology*.⁵⁵⁰ Instead, the Syriac and Armenian versions both refer to the 'lawgiver', a term⁵⁵¹ that also appears in the Greek version and is ascribed to Moses.⁵⁵² Moses is not called 'lawgiver' by the redactor of *B&I*. We have discussed above in the seventeenth comparison between the *Apology* and chapter 7 of *B&I* how Aaron appears nowhere else in *B&I*. Moses is mentioned in chapters 7, 11 and 27; the seventeenth comparison shows the two different ways in which he is portrayed in chapters 7 and 27. In chapter 11 of *B&I*, Moses is used in conjunction with the Israelites: 'For the law of Moses, formerly given to the Israelites'.⁵⁵³ We therefore need to ask whether it is possible that, as with the addition of 'Jews' in chapter 7 of *B&I*, the redactor has also inserted 'Moses' to give the *Apology* more context and information as to who the lawgiver is.

⁵⁴⁹ This passage in chapter 9 of *B&I* draws upon *Isaiah* 5:24. E. Hennecke, 'Aristides-Apologie' (1893): 52-7 is the only other scholar to notice this difference in *B&I* and the *Apology*.

⁵⁵⁰ See chapter 14.1 of the *Apology*.

⁵⁵¹ νομοθέτου.

⁵⁵² διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ νομοθέτου αὐτῶν.

⁵⁵³ Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Μωσέως νόμος, ὁ πάλαι δοθεὶς τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις.

The use of ‘lawgiver’ is one of the reasons why some scholars have thought that the *Apology* of Aristides used to be a Jewish text.⁵⁵⁴ This is because the description of Moses as lawgiver is a Jewish idea.⁵⁵⁵ In early Christian texts, it is either God or Jesus who is described as ‘lawgiver’.⁵⁵⁶ This became the preferred context for the use of νομοθέτης, although Moses is still discussed by early Christian writers as a lawgiver.⁵⁵⁷

The patriarch Abraham appears throughout chapter 7 of *B&I*, as well as in chapters 9, 27, 28 and 34. Of these five chapters, the most important to our understanding of the relationship between the *Apology* and *B&I* is chapter 9. This is the only place outside the *Apology* in which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are mentioned.

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 9	<i>Apology</i> (according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27) 14.1
ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαάκ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ; οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Θεὸς νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ζώντων:	Οὗτοι γὰρ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ὄντες ἀπόγονοι, Ἰσαάκ τε καὶ Ἰακώβ, παρώκησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

In chapter 9 the redactor is quoting *Matthew* 22:32. However, while the *Apology* is concerned with tracing the Jewish genealogy to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and this genealogy also appears in chapter 2.2 of the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology*, in chapter 7 of *B&I* the redactor traces the Jewish genealogy only through Abraham, omitting Isaac and Jacob: ‘and led forth the Israelites (for thus the people

⁵⁵⁴ See M. Alexandre, ‘Apologétique’ (1998): 1-40; R. van den Broek, ‘Eugnostos and Aristides’ (1988): 203; K.-G. Essig, ‘Erwägungen’ (1986): 178-82; G.C. O’Ceallaigh, ‘“Marcianus” Aristides’ (1958): 227; W. Hunger, ‘Die Apologie des Aristides’ (1949): 390-400; J. Kaspar, ‘Aristides’ (1913): 19. See also J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 83 who thought that despite the *Apology* being in a Jewish context, the *Apology* was not originally Jewish.

The theology, doctrine, ethics and contents of the first chapter are the main reason why some scholars have thought the *Apology* to have been originally a Jewish text. See R. van den Broek, ‘Eugnostos and Aristides’ (1988): 205; K.-G. Essig, ‘Erwägungen’ (1986): 182; G.C. O’Ceallaigh, ‘“Marcianus” Aristides’ (1958): 227; M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 47; J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 13 for a discussion on these different aspects.

⁵⁵⁵ Moses is inferred as ‘lawgiver’ by Philo in *Legum Allegoriae* 3.145, *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Cain* 72, *Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat* 135, *De Posteritate Caini* 133 and 166, *De Mutatione Nominum* 126, *De Vita Mosis* 1.128, 2.45 and 2.292, *De Virtutibus* 80 and 133, *De Virtutibus Prima Pars, Quod est de Legatione ad Gaium* 308. Moses is explicitly called ‘lawgiver’ in *De Vita Mosis* 2.292. Josephus implies that Moses is the ‘lawgiver’ in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 3.187, 4.6, 4.156, 18.264, *De bello Iudaico* 2.145, 5.401, *Contra Apionem* 1.316, 2.218. Josephus explicitly calls Moses the ‘lawgiver’ in *Antiquitates Judaicae* 1.18 and 1:24.

⁵⁵⁶ For example Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 10, *Stromata* 3.12; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 5.37; Methodius Olympius, *Symposium* 3.2; *Homiliae Clementinae* 18.1; Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, *Catechesis ad illuminandos* 2.15; *Constitutiones Apostolorum* 6.11.3.

⁵⁵⁷ For example Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 2.15; Origen, *De principiis* 4.1.1; *Homiliae Clementinae* 2.16.

descended from Abraham were called) through the Red Sea upon dry land'.⁵⁵⁸ There is some similarity in language between chapter 7 of *B&I* and chapter 14.1 of the *Apology*. ἀπόγονοι is rarely used in conjunction with the Jews descending from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.⁵⁵⁹ Furthermore, few church fathers refer to the Jews descending⁵⁶⁰ from Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, preferring instead to state that the Jews are descendants of Abraham, and excluding Isaac and Jacob.⁵⁶¹ Therefore, the addition of the 'Jews' in chapter 7 of *B&I* may be classed as an anomaly, because the redactor has not been influenced by the *Apology*. In *B&I* 'Israelites' refers to the ancestors of the Jews and Christians, whereas 'Jews' implies those who sentenced Jesus to die on the cross. The separate description of 'Jews', not 'Israelites', as being descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Syriac, Armenian and Greek versions of the *Apology* supports our observation that the redaction of *B&I* and the *Apology* have two different profiles, even if the redactor of both has been influenced by the *Vorlage* of the *B&I* and his *Vorlage* of the *Apology*. Furthermore, the approach taken by the *Apology* (of the Jews being descended from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, whereas *B&I* describes the Israelites as descending from just Abraham) is rare. Moreover, the only comparison where *B&I* mentions Abraham, Isaac and Jacob together is sourced from a New Testament passage and not the *Apology*. It is conceivable that Moses has been added to the Greek version of the *Apology*. This is the only instance where, in discussion of the 'Jewish race', the redactor of *B&I* has had a direct impact upon the *Apology*.

⁵⁵⁸ καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας οὕτω γὰρ ὁ λαὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπόγονος ἐκέκλητο διὰ ξηραῖς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν διήγαγε. In addition, notice the redactor's use of Israelites.

⁵⁵⁹ Herennius Philo, *De diversis verborum significationibus* (section *iota* entry 101). This text does not explicitly say that the Jews descend from these three men. Cornelius Alexander, *Fragment* 10 excludes Isaac. The use of ἀπόγονοι (in conjunction with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) appears in the fourth century A.D.: Eusebius, *De Theophania*, Fragment 5, Line 27 (αὐτοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ τῶν θεοφιλῶν ἐκείνων ἀπόγονοι, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀγχοῦντες καὶ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τὸν Ἰακώβ) and Theodoretus, *Interpretationes in Pauli epistulas* Volume 82, p764, line 22 (Καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ ἀπογόνων τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπηγγείλατο τῇ θαλαττίᾳ ψάμμῳ παραπλήσιον δεῖξειν.). Similar context, of the Jews being descendants from all three patriarchs (but without the use of ἀπόγονοι) can be located in *Exodus* 3:15; *Luke* 20:37 as well as Origen, *Contra Celsum* 4.33, *Commentarii in Ioannis* 13.17.106; Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 59.4 and 110.5. The best comparisons to the *Apology* are located in the fourth century A.D. texts. This suggests that although all three ancestors, and ἀπόγονοι, are used during the second century A.D., the language is more typical of the fourth century A.D.. We must note that this idea appears in the Syriac, Armenian and Greek versions of the *Apology*. This redaction must have therefore occurred before the *Apology* traditions split.

⁵⁶⁰ With alternate adjective, other than ἀπόγονοι, chosen.

⁵⁶¹ 4 *Maccabees* 18:1; Thucydides *Historiae* 1.101; Pausanias *Periegeta*, *Graeciae descriptio* 4.15.32; Eustathius, *Commentarius in Hexaemeron* 789; Theodoretus, *De providentia rationes decem* 83.693; Basilus Seleuciensus, *Sermones* xli.117. These passages use ἀπόγονοι and refer to just Abraham. Within the New Testament alone, the idea of being descendants of Abraham, without the use of ἀπόγονοι, appears in *John* 8: 37; *Acts* 13:26; *Romans* 4:13, 9:10; *Galatians* 3:29; *Hebrews* 2:16.

Little information can be gleaned from the two texts' treatment of the third and final race of humanity: the Christians. This is because the redactor of *B&I* has undoubtedly had little impact on the *Apology* here, nor has the *Apology* substantially influenced the redactor of *B&I*.⁵⁶²

C) The *Apology* and chapter 31 of *B&I*

As previously mentioned in the preceding two discussions, on chapter 7 of *B&I* and the topic of the different races as found in the *Apology*, there are a number of parallels noticeable between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*. Some of these have already been expounded, and will not be reiterated here.

	<i>B&I</i> Chapter 31	<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27
I	Τί χλευάζειν ἐπιχειρεῖς τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας κήρυγμα, δι' οὗ τὰ ἐσκοτισμένα ἐφωτίσθη, δι' οὗ οἱ πεπλανημένοι τὴν ὁδὸν εὗρον, δι' οὗ οἱ ἀπολωλότες καὶ δεινῶς αἰχμαλωτισθέντες ἀνεκλήθησαν;	Ὅθεν οἱ εἰσέτι διακονοῦντες τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ κηρύγματος αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Χριστιανοί. (15.2) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνη πλανῶνται καὶ πλανῶσιν ἑαυτοῖς· ὁδεύοντες γὰρ ἐν σκότει προσήρσονται ἑαυτοῖς ὡς μεθύοντες. (16.6)
II	Τί κρεῖττον, εἰπέ μοι, θεῷ λατρεῦειν παντοκράτορι	τὸν θεὸν μόνον παντοκράτορα (14.3-4)
III	σὺν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, θεῷ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ	γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων ἐν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (15.3)
IV	ἄθανάτῳ, τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ πηγῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀνείκαστον καὶ ἡ δόξα ἀκατάληπτος, ὃ παρειστήκεισαν χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύρια μυριάδες ἀγγελικῶν ταγμάτων καὶ οὐρανίων, καὶ πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παρήχθη, δι' οὗ κρατεῖται τὸ πᾶν καὶ συνέχεται καὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ αὐτοῦ διοικεῖται;	ἄναρχον καὶ αἰδίων, ἄθανατον καὶ ἀποσδεῖ, ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἐλαττωμάτων, ὀργῆς τε καὶ λήθης καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. (1.2) Αὐτὸν οὖν λέγω εἶναι θεόν τὸν συστησάμενον τὰ πάντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα (1.2) προνοίᾳ θεοῦ (1.1)

⁵⁶² The only idea which is within *B&I* worth mentioning is the use of 'Galileans'. 'Galileans' is used by the redactor of *B&I* to imply the Christians. It is used six times throughout *B&I*: twice in chapter 25, once in chapter 26, twice in chapter 29 and once in chapter 32. The use of 'Galileans' does not affect our discussion.

	<i>B&I Chapter 31</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
V	Τούτω βέλτιον λατρεύειν ἢ δαίμοσιν ὀλεθρίοις καὶ ἀψύχοις εἰδώλοις, ὧν ἡ δόξα καὶ ὁ ἔπαινος <u>μοιχείᾳ</u> ἐστὶ καὶ <u>παιδοφθορία</u> καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀνομίας ἔργα, ἃ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναγράφεται θεῶν ἐν τοῖς συντάγμασι τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ὑμῶν.	τὰ νεκρὰ ἀγάλματα (7.2) <u>μοιχείας</u> καὶ κλοπὰς καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτίας. (13.5)
VI	Οὐκ αἰδεῖσθε, ταλαίπωροι, <u>πυρὸς</u> ἀκοιμήτου βορά, ὁμοίωμα γένους <u>Χαλδαϊκοῦ</u> , οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε <u>νεκρὰ</u> <u>ζόανα</u> προσκυνοῦντες, χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔργα; Λίθον γὰρ λαξεύσαντες ἢ ξύλον τεκτονεύσαντες θεὸν προσηγορεύσατε·	τὸ <u>πῦρ</u> (5.2) <u>Χαλδαῖοι</u> (throughout) τὰ <u>νεκρὰ</u> <u>ἀγάλματα</u> (7.2) σέβονται (implied in 7.2) ὧν καὶ μορφώματά τινα ποιήσαντες ὠνόμασαν ἐκτύπωμα οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στοιχείων ... (3.1)
VII	εἴτα τὸν κάλλιστον ἐκ βουκολίων ταῦρον λαβόντες ἢ ἄλλο τυχὸν τῶν εὐπρεπεστάτων ζώων νεκρῷ σεβάσματι θύετε ἀνόητοι.	ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἄλογα ζῶα παρεισήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἑνυδρά (12.1 – different)
VIII	Τιμιώτερόν ἐστι τοῦ σεβάσματός σου τὸ παρὰ σοῦ <u>προσφερόμενον</u> θῦμα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζόανον ἄνθρωπος <u>ἐποίησε</u> , τὸ δὲ ζῶον ὁ θεὸς ἐδημιούργησε.	Οὐ χρήζει θυσίας καὶ σπονδῶν, οὐδέ τινος πάντων τῶν <u>φαινομένων</u> · (1.2) καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν <u>ποιοῦντες</u> (13.1)

	<i>B&I Chapter 31</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
IX	<p>Καὶ πόσῳ σοῦ μᾶλλον τοῦ λογικοῦ συνετώτερόν ἐστι τὸ ἄλογον ζῶον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οἶδε τὸν τρέφοντα, σὺ δὲ τὸν <u>θεόν</u> ἠγνόησας, δι' οὗ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παρήχθης, δι' οὗ ζῆς καὶ συντετήρησαι, καὶ καλεῖς θεόν, ὃν πρὸ μικροῦ ἔβλεπες σιδήρῳ τυπτόμενον καὶ πυρὶ χωνευόμενον καὶ σφύραις ἐλαυνόμενον, ᾧ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν περιθεῖς χαμόθεν ὕψωσας καὶ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ μετεώρισας· εἶτα πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ ταπεινοῦ λίθου κεῖσαι ταπεινότερος, προσκυνῶν οὐ θεόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου <u>τὰ νεκρὰ</u> καὶ <i>ἄψυχα</i>. Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ νεκρὸν ἂν εἶη δίκαιον καλεῖσθαι τὸ εἶδωλον – πῶς γὰρ νεκρὸν ἂν εἶη τὸ μηδέποτε ζῆσαν –, ἀλλὰ τι καινὸν ἔδει ἐφευρεῖν αὐτῷ ὄνομα καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης παραφροσύνης ἐπάξιον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ λίθινος θρύπτεται, ὁ δὲ ὀστράκινος κατεάγνυται, ὁ ξύλινος φθείρεται, ὁ χαλκοῦς ἰοῦται, ὁ χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργύρεος χωνεῖται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πιπράσκονται οἱ θεοί σου, οἱ μὲν εὐώνως, οἱ δὲ τιμῆς ὅτι πλείστης· οὐχ ἡ θεότης γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἡ ὕλη τὴν πολυτέλειαν δίδωσι. Θεὸν δὲ τίς ἀγοράζει; Θεὸν τίς πωλεῖ; Θεὸς δὲ ἀκίνητος πῶς ὀνομάζεται; Ἡ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐστὼς οὐδέποτε καθεύζεται, ὁ δὲ καθεζόμενος οὐδέποτε ἀνίσταται;</p>	<p>Αὐτὸν οὖν λέγω εἶναι <u>θεόν</u> τὸν συστησάμενον τὰ πάντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα (1.2)</p> <p><u>τὰ νεκρὰ</u> <i>ἀγάλματα</i> (7.2)</p>

	<i>B&I Chapter 31</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
X	<p>Αἰσχύνθητι, ἀνόητε, χεῖρα θές ἐπὶ στόματι, μεμωραμένε, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαινῶν. Τῆς ἀληθείας γὰρ ἀλλοτριωθείς ψευδέσι τύποις ἐπλανήθης, <u>ἀγάλματα</u> πλάττων</p> <p>καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν σου θεοῦ περιτιθεῖς ὄνομα. Ἀνάνηψον, ἄθλιε, καὶ σύνεες ὅτι πρεσβύτερος εἶ τοῦ ὑπὸ σοῦ γενομένου θεοῦ. Ταῦτα πολλῆς ἐστι μανίας· πέπικας δὲ σαυτόν – ἄνθρωπος ὢν – θεὸν δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. Καὶ πῶς ἐνδέχεται τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ὥστε οὐ <u>θεὸν</u> ποιεῖς, ἀλλὰ <u>μόρφωμα ἀνθρώπου</u></p> <p>ἢ ζῶου τινός, μὴ γλῶσσαν ἔχον,</p>	<p><u>ἀγάλματα</u> νεκρὰ καὶ ἀνωφελῆ. (3.1) OR καὶ θεοποιούμενοι τὰ κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα εἰδωλα. (13.1)</p> <p>Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸν <u>ἄνθρωπον</u> εἶναι <u>θεὸν</u> πλανῶνται. (7.1) ... καὶ <u>μεταμορφοῦσθαι</u> εἰς ζῶα, (9.2)</p>
XI	<p>μὴ λάρυγγα, μὴ ἐγκέφαλον, μήτε τι τῶν ἐντός· ὥστε οὔτε ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν ὁμοίωμα, οὔτε ζῶου, ἀλλ' ἄχρηστον πάντη καὶ ματαιότητος πλήρες. Τί οὖν τὰ ἀναίσθητα κολακεύεις; Τί τοῖς ἀκινήτοις καὶ ἀνωφελέσι προσκάθησαι; Εἰ μὴ τέχνη παρῆν τοῦ λιθοξόου ἢ τοῦ τέκτονος ἢ τοῦ σφυροκόπου, θεὸν οὐκ ἂν εἶχες. Εἰ μὴ φύλακες παρεκάθηντο, ἀπώλεσας ἂν τὸν θεόν σου. Ὡς γὰρ πολλάκις πόλις πολυάνθρωπος ἀφρόνων εὕχεται ὡς θεῶ διαφυλαχθῆναι, τούτῳ ὀλίγοι παραμένουσι φύλακες ἵνα μὴ <u>κλαπῇ</u>. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀργυροῦς ἐστὶν ἢ χρυσοῦς, ἐπιμελῶς <u>φυλάσσεται</u>· ἐὰν δὲ ἢ λίθινος ἢ πήλινος ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς εὐτελεστέρας ὕλης, ἐαυτὸν <u>φυλάσσει</u>· ἰσχυρότερος γὰρ ἴσως ἐστὶν ὁ πήλινος καθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ χρυσοῦ;</p>	<p>οὓς καὶ τηροῦσιν ἀσφαλῶς, ἵνα μὴ <u>κλαπῶσιν</u> ὑπὸ ληστῶν. Καὶ οὐ συνήκαν ὅτι πᾶν τὸ <u>τηροῦν</u> μείζον τοῦ <u>τηρουμένου</u> ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ποιῶν μείζων ἐστὶ τοῦ ποιουμένου· εἰ γὰρ ἀδυνατοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας, πῶς ἄλλοις σωτηρίαν χαρίζονται; (3.1 – the section after ‘stolen by robbers’ is similar but different)</p>

	<i>B&I Chapter 31</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
XII	<p>Οὐκ εἰκότως ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἄφρονας ὡς τυφλοὺς καὶ ἄσυνέτους δικαίως καταγελαῖσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ πενθεῖσθαι;</p> <p>Μανίας γὰρ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, οὐκ <u>εὐσεβείας</u> ἐστίν.</p>	<p>πῶς οἱ λεγόμενοι φιλόσοφοι αὐτῶν οὐδ' ὅλως συνήκαν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα φθαρτά ἐστιν. (3.2) ἔπραττον πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, καταμιαίνοντες γῆν τε καὶ ἀέρα ταῖς μιαραῖς αὐτῶν μίξεσιν. (11.7) OR καὶ τὰ πάνδεια ποιῶσιν. (8.2) OR Μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα· (16.5)</p>
XIII	<p>Ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον ἀσκήσας, στρατιωτικῆς ἀντίμιμον ιδέας ξόανον ἰδρύσας, ἐκάλεσεν Ἄρην· ὁ δὲ γυναικομανοὺς ἐπιθυμίας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνατυπώσάμενος, ἐθεοποίησε τὸ πάθος, Ἀφροδίτην καλέσας. Ἄλλος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοινίας ἔνεκεν, ἔπλασεν εἰδωλον καὶ προσωνόμασε Διόνυσον.</p>	<p>Ἄρης δὲ παρεισάγεται θεὸς εἶναι <u>πολεμιστῆς</u> καὶ ζηλωτῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμητῆς θρεμμάτων καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν· (10.4)</p> <p>... Ἀφροδίτην δὲ λέγουσι καὶ αὐτὴν θεὰν εἶναι μοιχαλίδα. (11.3)</p> <p>... Τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, νυκτερινὰς ἄγοντα ἑορτὰς καὶ διδάσκαλον μέθης (10.5)</p>
XIV	<p>Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν ἔστησαν εἰδωλα· τὰ πάθη γὰρ αὐτῶν <u>θεοὺς</u> ὠνόμασαν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν βωμοῖς ἡδυπαθεῖς εἰσιν ὀρχήσεις, πορνικῶν ἁσμάτων ἦχοι καὶ μανιώδεις ὀρμαί. Τίς δὲ καθεξῆς τὴν βδελυρὰν αὐτῶν ἐξεῖποι πρᾶξιν; Τίς ἀνέξεται τὰς ἐκείνων αἰσχρολογίας καταλέγων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μολῦναι στόμα; Ἀλλὰ πᾶσι δῆλα τὰ περὶ τούτων κἂν ἡμεῖς σιωπῶμεν. Ταῦτά σου τὰ σεβάσματα, Θευδᾶ, τῶν <u>ξοάνων</u> ἀναισθητότερε. Τούτοις με ἐπιτρέπεις προσκυνεῖν, ταῦτα <u>σέβεσθαι</u>; Τῆς σῆς ὄντως κακουργίας καὶ ἄσυνέτου γνώμης ἢ βουλή· ἀλλ' ὅμοιος αὐτῶν γένοιο, σύ τε καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.</p>	<p>τοιούτους παρεισάγοντες <u>θεοὺς</u></p> <p>καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν ποιοῦντες καὶ θεοποιούμενοι τὰ κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα <u>εἰδωλα</u>. (13.1)</p>
XV	<p>Ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ θεῷ μου <u>λατρεύσω</u> καὶ αὐτῷ θύσω ὅλον ἑμαυτόν,</p>	<p>τοῦ <u>λατρεύειν</u> ζῶντι θεῷ (16.5)</p>

	<i>B&I Chapter 31</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
XVI	<p>τῷ θεῷ τῷ κτίσῃ καὶ προνοητῇ τῶν ἀπάντων,</p> <p>διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τῶν φώτων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, δι' οὗ ἐξηγοράσθημεν τῆς πικρᾶς δουλείας ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἄλλον θεὸν πλὴν τούτου οὐ σέβονται. Ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (15.3 AND 17.3 with 15.1)</p>
XVII	<p>Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν μέχρι καὶ δούλου μορφῆς, οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἡξιώθημεν. Ἐταπεινώθη γοῦν δι' ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγούμενος τὴν θεότητα, ἀλλ' ὃ ἦν διέμεινε καὶ ὃ οὐκ ἦν προσέλαβεν· ὡμίλησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,</p> <p>ἀνῆλθεν ἐν σταυρῷ τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐτέθη τάφῳ ἐπὶ</p> <p>τρισὶν ἡμέραις,</p> <p>κατῆλθεν ἐν τῷ ᾄδῃ, ἐξήγαγεν ἐκεῖθεν οὓς κατεῖχε δεσμίους ὁ δεινὸς κοσμοκράτωρ πεπραμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας.</p>	<p>σάρκα ἀνέλαβε</p> <p>καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης αὐτοῦς ἀνακαλέσεται. Καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγεύσατο ἐκουσίᾳ βουλῇ κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην· μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνεβίω καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνῆλθην. (15.1)</p>

As can be seen from the table above, in contrast to the previous two sections⁵⁶³ we can identify fewer similarities between the *Apology* and chapter 31 of *B&I*. Nevertheless, a number of parallels can be highlighted. The first example is right in the opening the description of those who serve the ‘message’ (κήρυγμα), a message through which those who were erring and walking in darkness on the wrong way have been enlightened. The next example is immediately following, the belief in God, the Almighty, his only begotten Son and the Holy Spirit. Although some of the epithets of God that follow are different in chapter 31 and chapter 27 of the *Apology*, even there we discover some parallels. God is the παντοκράτωρ, the Almighty, he does not die. He is the one who holds everything together through his foresight. Further negative epithets from the

⁵⁶³ See the comparisons between the *Apology* and chapter 7 of *B&I*, as well as the *Apology* and the different races used in *B&I*.

Apology are rendered as positive statements in chapter 31 (the one who is without source, ἄναρχον, in the *Apology*, becomes the source of all that is good, τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ πηγῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, in chapter 31; or the one who is above all sufferings in the *Apology*, ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν παθῶν, is the incomparably powerful, οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀνείκαστον, in chapter 31).

In the *Apology*, παντοκράτωρ appears in chapter 14.3-4. A parallel between the Greek and Syriac version of the *Apology* is apparent in this section. Furthermore, although παντοκράτωρ does not appear anywhere else in the Greek version of the *Apology*, ‘Almighty’ is used on one other occasion in the Syriac version: chapter 13.2-3. Turning to *B&I*, the only other use of παντοκράτωρ is in chapter 30 which has been taken directly from Symeon Metaphrastes’ *Martyrium S. Theclae* 15.⁵⁶⁴ To conclude, therefore, it seems that the redactor of *B&I* borrowed the noun from the *Apology* and inserted it into chapter 31 as he was apparently influenced by this text when developing the divine epithets further.

Both chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology* use, as we have seen, the phrase υἱὸ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Is the redactor or the *Apology* the parent of this phrase or is it the other way around?⁵⁶⁵ Before we discuss the phrase itself we must first look at the parts that have been highlighted in bold in the comparison and are re-iterated here:

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 31	<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27
Τί κρεῖττον, εἰπέ μοι, θεῶν λατρεύειν παντοκράτορι σὺν υἱὸ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, θεῶν ἀκτίστῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ,	τὸν θεόν μόνον παντοκράτορα (14.3-4) γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεόν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν υἱὸ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (15.3) ἄναρχον καὶ αἰδίων, ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀποσδεῖ, (1.2)

The use of σὺν in *B&I* represents a vast difference in theology compared to the use of ἐν in the *Apology*.⁵⁶⁶ Basil of Caesarea discusses the use of Trinitarian particles throughout his work; however, in a series of conversations between Basil and Apolinarius of Laodicea, the matter of how the Son is with the Father, and not part of the Father, is

⁵⁶⁴ PG115, 844 C 14-D 2.

⁵⁶⁵ Interestingly, the copyist of manuscript O, in chapter 27 and 31 of *B&I*, inverts πνεύματι and ἁγίῳ. See R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 282 and 323.

⁵⁶⁶ We must note that there are no manuscript differences in either the *Apology* or *B&I* 31.

discussed.⁵⁶⁷ This suggests that the *Apology* is monarchian and predates the Cappadocian fathers. Furthermore, it shows that the redactor of *B&I* does not change the theological language of the *Apology* to a more Orthodox understanding of the nature of the Trinity.

A further understanding of these two texts may be gleaned through a discussion of the adjective *μονογενής* in *B&I*; this will enable us to comprehend the terminology and context in which this adjective has been placed. Unfortunately, we cannot draw on the other versions of the *Apology*, since neither the Syriac, nor the Armenian, nor the Greek fragments use this adjective, nor any similar expression. *μονογενής* appears in chapters 1, 7, 10, 16, 17, 19, 21, 27, 30 and 31 of *B&I*. Of these we must exclude chapters 1, 7, 10, 19 and 21 because the passages where the term occurs have been borrowed from external sources.⁵⁶⁸ Additionally, two usages of *μονογενής* in chapter 16 and one in chapter 30 must be removed, because the context and content are very different from the current discussion.⁵⁶⁹ This leaves us with three independent cases,

⁵⁶⁷ See Basil in *Epistle* 362, who explains how the Father and the Son are one. The conversation between Basil and Apolinarius is contained in *Epistles* 361-3. See PG 32, 1099-106. See Stephen M. Hildebrand, *Trinitarian Theology* (2007): 150-87; R.M. Hübner, *Die Schrift des Apolinarius* (1989): 236-8. Basil's Trinitarian theology was a response to the Neo-Arian heresy. In his understanding of the Trinity, Basil arrived at similar conclusions to Apolinarius. In his discussion of *hypostasis* Basil revealed that the Godhead is one in *ousia*. This understanding became the standard for Eastern Orthodox theology of the Holy Trinity. See R. M. Hübner, *Die Schrift des Apolinarius* (1989): 1-2.

⁵⁶⁸ Volk does not indicate that the redactor of *B&I* is relying on an external source, unlike the following uses of *μονογενής* in *B&I*: chapter 1 Ὅτε δὲ ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς (*John* 1:18, Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Thomae Apostoli* 2, 1-3 [p156-7]); chapter 7 Εἰ τὸν ἐμὸν βούλει δεσπότην μαθεῖν, ὁ κύριός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (*John* 1:18, 3:18) and later in chapter 7: ἀλλ' εὐδοκία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι (*John of Damascus, Expositio Fidei* 45, 36-40 [who in turn has borrowed some of the language from *John* 1:18]); chapter 10 reads: Εἷς γὰρ ὁ πατήρ, ὃς καὶ ἴδιον ἢ ἀγεννησία· εἷς δὲ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἢ γέννησις· ἐν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ἴδιον αὐτῷ ἢ ἐκπόρευσις (*Gregory Nazianzenus, Orationes* 25, 26, 28-30 [p198]); chapter 19 ἀλλ' εὐθύτητι καρδίας ἀπεριέργως προσδέχου ὅτι ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα κατὰ πάντα ἐν εἰσι, πλὴν τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως, καὶ ὅτι ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατήλθεν ἐπὶ γῆς (*John of Damascus, Expositio Fidei* 2. See above for a lengthy comparison between chapter 19 of *B&I* and *Expositio Fidei*); finally, chapter 21 Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐπῆγεν, ὅπως τῆς ἡμετέρας φροντίζων ὁ δημιουργὸς σωτηρίας διδασκάλους ἀπέστειλε καὶ προφήτας τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς κηρύττοντας σάρκωσιν (*Symeon Metaphrastes, Vita S. Gregorii Illuminatoris* 10 96.22-34).

⁵⁶⁹ *B&I* 16 Ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ τοῦ πένητος, παρθένος οὖσα καὶ μονογενὴς αὐτῷ [...] Οὐ δύναμαί σοι ταύτην δοῦναι τοῦ ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς σου καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίσαι ἀγκαλῶν· μονογενὴς γὰρ μοί ἐστιν (the second use of *μονογενής* originates from *Luke* 9:38); chapter 30 καὶ ἰλέω μοι ἐπίβλεψον ὄμματι ρῦσαι ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας δαιμονικῆς τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς κυνὸς τὴν μονογενὴ μου (*Psalms* 21:21).

which according to Volk rely on no other passage:⁵⁷⁰ the first is in chapter 16,⁵⁷¹ the second in chapter 17,⁵⁷² and the third in chapter 21.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷⁰ It is possible that the redactor of *B&I* may have borrowed this phrase from a church father: Gregory of Nyssa, *Adversus Macedonianos de spiritu sancto* 3,1.115 οὕτως ἀναπέμψει τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζωῆς, ἐκ πατρὸς ἀρχόμενος καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ συμπεριλαμβάνων καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὐ χωρίζων, ὡς πληροῦσθαι τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ σὺν τῷ μονογενεῖ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ προσκύνησιν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. This is similar to the *Apology* and chapter 31 of *B&I*; however neither chapters of *B&I* use ‘Father’, whereas Gregory of Nyssa does.

⁵⁷¹ Τὸ γινώσκειν τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱόν, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα. According to R. Volk (*Barlaam et Ioasaph* [2006]: 158), this is similar to *Balavariani* 2.23 however the *Balavariani* does not use μονογενής. A section of this has been taken from *John* 17:3: αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή, ἵνα γινώσκωσιν σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. This passage from *John* however does not include μονογενής.

⁵⁷² Θεὸν γάρ, φησὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς καὶ θεολόγος, οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε: ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. This has been taken from *John* 1:18 which reads: θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε: μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

⁵⁷³ Σὲ οὖν ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱόν καὶ τὸ πανάγιόν σου πνεῦμα.

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 16	<i>B&I</i> Chapter 17	<i>B&I</i> Chapter 21	<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27	<i>B&I</i> Chapter 31	Syriac <i>Apology</i> 15
<p>Τὸ <u>γινώσκειν</u> (<i>John</i> γινώσκωσιν) ‘τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν <u>θεόν</u>’</p> <p>καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν <u>μονογενῆ</u> αὐτοῦ <u>υἱόν</u>, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν <u>πνεῦμα</u>.</p>	<p>‘<u>Θεόν</u>’ γάρ, φησὶν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς καὶ θεολόγος, ‘οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε·</p> <p>ὁ <u>μονογενὴς</u> <u>υἱός</u>,</p> <p>ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός, ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.’</p>	<p>Σὲ οὖν ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ τὸν</p> <p>μονογενῆ σου <u>υἱόν</u> καὶ τὸ πανάγιόν σου <u>πνεῦμα</u>·</p>	<p><u>γινώσκουσιν</u></p> <p>γὰρ</p> <p>τὸν <u>θεόν</u></p> <p>κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν</p> <p>τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν <u>υἱῷ</u></p> <p><u>μονογενεῖ</u> καὶ</p> <p><u>πνεύματι ἁγίῳ</u></p>	<p>θεῷ λατρεύειν</p> <p>παντοκράτορι</p> <p><u>σὺν υἱῷ</u></p> <p><u>μονογενεῖ</u> καὶ</p> <p><u>πνεύματι ἁγίῳ</u></p>	<p>For they know</p> <p>and believe in</p> <p>God,</p> <p>the Maker of heaven and earth, in whom are all things and from whom are all things ...</p>

The parallels between the *Apology* and chapters 16 and 31 of *B&I* are clear; however chapter 21 has very little resemblance to the other cases. The more interesting aspect is the theological language, some of which has been previously discussed. To add to our previous examination, it is possible to look in greater detail at the theology of the

redactor of *B&I*. As *καί* (*B&I* 16) and *σύν* (*B&I* 31) are not synonymous, we are able to see the differences within *B&I*: in the *Apology* chapter 27 the redactor declares that God can be known in the Son, whereas a little later in chapter 31 of *B&I* he says that God is worshipped with the Son. The redactor does not harmonize the two aspects. Furthermore, it is possible to assess the dissimilarity between the Syriac version of the *Apology* and the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*. Although this dissimilarity would create some concern in regards to the redactor of *B&I* changing the *Apology*, however it is the stark difference in trinitarian theology which is located in chapters 16 and 31 to chapter 27 of *B&I*.

As the *Apology* is not part of the *Balavariani*, the Trinitarian thinking of *B&I* may originate from the *Balavariani* 3.51:⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁴ Because of the little resemblance this has to other independent uses of the adjective in *B&I*, I have removed from this comparison the independent use of *μονογενής* in chapter 21 of *B&I*.

and Armenian versions.⁵⁷⁵ The language in *B&I* chapter 31 is not dissimilar to that in the *Apology*, although, as shown, it slightly differs. Further, the redactor quotes a number of external sources in chapter 31, when he describes God's nature. Evidently, *B&I* and the *Apology* are not independent of one another, although, it seems that *B&I* is developed on the basis of the *Apology* as on those other sources. At the end of this description, in both the *Apology* and chapter 31, God is called acting out of *προνοία*. It was concluded in the seventh comparison between *B&I* chapter 7 and the *Apology*⁵⁷⁶ that the original *Apology* probably referred to the 'providence of God'. This is because the Armenian and Greek versions contain similar language. *Προνοία* is also used in chapter 13.1 of the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*, which reads: "Ὅτε γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσι, πῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόνοιαν ποιήσονται. This Greek section has a parallel in the Syriac version of the *Apology*, further suggesting that *προνοία* had not been inserted later. Did the redactor of *B&I* therefore borrow *προνοία* and insert it into the novel? In the *Balavariani*, 'providence' is used only once in 2.19: 'But those through whom God in His providence operates the conquest of disease'; *προνοία* in *B&I* could therefore originate from the *Balavariani*. Elsewhere in *B&I* *προνοία* appears in chapters 7, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27, 31, and 40. Chapter 17⁵⁷⁷ provides us with two examples that are quotes from church fathers. This leaves us with the other uses of *προνοία* which have all been adopted by the redactor from the *Balavariani*.⁵⁷⁸

In discussion of the fifteenth comparison between *B&I* chapter 7 and the *Apology*, it was noted that chapter 31 (of *B&I*) is the only example where *ἀγάλματα* is used independently.⁵⁷⁹ Although *ἀγάλματα* is only used in chapter 31 in the tenth

⁵⁷⁵ Chapter 27: *ἄλδιον* is omitted in K.

⁵⁷⁶ Despite a difference in the Syriac version of the *Apology*, which reads the 'grace of God'.

⁵⁷⁷ καὶ συντηρεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀεὶ προνοεῖσθαι. (John of Damascus *Expositio Fidei* 3,35-40); καὶ μεγάλης καὶ θαυμαστῆς διακυβερνήσεως καὶ πανσόφου προνοίας; (John Chrysostom [spur.], *Ecloga de Providentia* 10 = John Chrysostom, *Ad Populum Antiochenum Homilie* 10.3.)

⁵⁷⁸ *B&I* 7 τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ φωτιζόμενα καὶ διακρατούμενα; chapter 17 ἐν οὐδενὶ τούτων δυνάμενον μὴ ἀνθίστασθαι τῇ ἰσχύϊ τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας (this has been taken from the *Balavariani* 2.30 but does not include 'providence'); chapter 18 ὡς παρὰ τῆς προνοίας πεμφθέντα δεχόμεθα τοῦτον ἐπ' εὐλογίᾳ τῶν πιστῶς προσεγγκόντων (this has been taken from the *Balavariani* 2.36, but the *Balavariani* does not use 'providence'); chapter 24 οὐτε τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας ἄνευ συνίστασθαι τι δύναται; chapter 26 ἕτερα δὲ πάλιν ἡ σοφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοια ἄνωθεν ὠκονόμει, and τὸ δὲ πᾶν τῆς θείας ἥν προνοίας σοφῶς διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἡμέτερα βεβαιούσης; chapter 40 κυβερνήσόν μου τὴν ζωὴν, ὃ πᾶσαν τὴν κτῆσιν ἀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ προνοία κυβερνῶν, καὶ γνώρισόν μοι ὁδὸν ἐν ἣ πορεύσομαι. καὶ σῶσόν με, ὡς ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος (part of this is from *Psalms* 142:8, however this does not use 'providence').

⁵⁷⁹ Although *ἀγάλματα* also appears in chapters 10 and 32 of *B&I*, the noun is part of a phrase taken from an external source.

comparison between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, we must reiterate the redactor's preference for εἰδώλοις instead of ἀγάλματα. In the fifth comparison between *B&I* chapter 31 (ἀψύχοις εἰδώλοις) and the *Apology* (νεκρὰ ἀγάλματα), *B&I* is quoting Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* 74.3. In the eighth, ninth, tenth and fourteenth comparison between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, we can assess that where 'idol' or 'image' is used in chapter 31, the redactor is not quoting a church father: οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε νεκρὰ ξόανα προσκυνοῦντες [...] ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου τὰ νεκρὰ καὶ ἄψυχα [...] ἀγάλματα πλάττων καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν σου θεοῦ περιτιθεῖς ὄνομα [...] ξοάνων ἀναισθητότερε. None of these examples is similar to the *Apology* in the precise wording; however, they do use language similar to that found within the *Apology*. Nevertheless, given that there is a common theme of 'idols' and 'images' in the *Balavariani*,⁵⁸⁰ we cannot draw any conclusion here as to the redactor's possible reliance on the *Apology*.

There are further parallels between *B&I* chapter 31 and the *Apology*. Some of these have been discussed previously,⁵⁸¹ while others are cases where the ideas coincide, but have independent sources. For example the two references to the Chaldeans committing adultery (comparison 5) and having intercourse with men/boys (comparison 5) must be independent of one another, since there is a parallel between the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* and the Syriac version, while in chapter 31 of *B&I* the redactor is quoting from Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* 74.3.

In the comparison between *B&I* chapter 7 and the *Apology*, it is indisputable that the redactor of *B&I* is drawing ideas directly from the *Apology*.⁵⁸² Although the evidence is not as compelling, from the contents of the seventh comparison it is reasonable to draw a similar conclusion for chapter 31. For example, the reference to worshipping animals (specified as bulls in chapter 31), appears in both the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* and the parallel Syriac version, while the redactor's reference in chapter 31 of *B&I* to 'men making sacrifices and libations' appears in the Greek, Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology*. Additionally, according to Volk, this section in chapter 31 of *B&I* does not have an external source.

⁵⁸⁰ It must be noted that the use of 'dead images/idols' does not appear in the *Balavariani*.

⁵⁸¹ For example the use of 'dead idols/images', as well as the use of 'Chaldeans'.

⁵⁸² Chapter 31: from εἴτα τὸν κάλλιστον ἐκ βουκολίων ταῦρον λαβόντες to the end of the comparison between the two chapters, the text is omitted in XYZ. Additionally παρὰ σοῦ προσφερόμενον is omitted in E'FGHIJKLMNO'PQRSTU₁U₂'VW₁W₂Kech.

The reference in chapter 31 of *B&I* to images being made by man in the eighth comparison, can also be found in chapter 13 of the *Apology*. There is no similar content in any of the other versions. The Greek *Apology* uses ἀγάλματα, which, as previously discussed, is a noun that does not originate in *B&I*. The fact that ἀγάλματα is not used by the redactor suggests that he has not overly redacted the *Apology*, and it could indicate either that the Syriac is not the superior version (because there is no parallel between it and the Greek *B&I* version), or that the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* had been redacted more thoroughly at an earlier stage in the textual transmission, after it had become separated from the other versions, but before the redactor of *B&I* put together the novel. Either conclusion is plausible; no further evidence is available to suggest one case as stronger than the other.

In the ninth comparison, the redactor of *B&I* describes God: ‘from whom you were copied out of nothing,’⁵⁸³ we can find little resemblance with the *Apology* in terms of content and language. The Syriac and Armenian versions do contain some comparable ideas to those found in the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*; however there is no depth of similarity between them. Volk⁵⁸⁴ states that this passage in chapter 31 of *B&I* refers to *Isaiah* 1:3;⁵⁸⁵ however, the content and language of the Old Testament prophet does not adequately reflect what is found here. Given the lack of similarity between the two texts of the *Apology* and chapter 31 of *B&I*, it is clear that these are independent of each other.

Continuing through this comparison, references to false images (‘senseless images’ in the Syriac version), men not being gods, and animals not being gods, all appear in the Syriac version of the *Apology*, indicating that the redactor of *B&I* has not altered the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* here. Further, according to Volk, the redactor of *B&I* does not borrow the content from an external source. Because the content of chapter 31 is so specific, it is presumed that the redactor of *B&I* must be drawing the content from somewhere. He may, therefore, have been borrowing from the *Apology*. This possibility seems particularly likely when the redactor discusses how the Indians’ idols, which are made of silver and gold, are guarded. Although the guarding of

⁵⁸³ τὸ μὲν γὰρ οἶδε τὸν τρέφοντα, σὺ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἠγνόησας, δι’ οὗ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παρήχθης.

⁵⁸⁴ *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006): 323.

⁵⁸⁵ Ἔγνων βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον, καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραὴλ δὲ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαὸς με οὐ συνῆκεν.

idols does appear in the *Apology*, this section (guarding silver and gold idols) has been taken from the *Epistula ad Diognetum* 2.2 and 2.7.⁵⁸⁶ It could be suggested therefore that this whole section has been taken from the *Epistula ad Diognetum*; however the context and content of that *Epistle* is remarkably different from that of chapter 31 of *B&I*; the *Apology* content and context is much closer to what we find here. We might conclude that in discussing the content of the *Apology*, the redactor is reminded of the *Epistula ad Diognetum* and inserts a section of this text.

In comparisons 10 to 12, the pattern previously outlined of the relationship between *B&I* chapter 31 and the *Apology* returns to the fore when we examine the discussion of humans who worship idols: they are ‘blind’ and ‘without understanding’,⁵⁸⁷ and are seen as impious. Similar content is present in the Syriac version of the *Apology*, while the redactor does not draw upon any external sources. Again, it appears probable that the redactor of *B&I* is drawing information directly from the *Apology*.

The thirteenth section of comparison between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, the discussion on Aphrodite, Ares and Dionysius,⁵⁸⁸ has already been explored in depth. It was concluded that although some of the information regarding these gods may have been gleaned from elsewhere,⁵⁸⁹ their inclusion may have originated from the *Apology*.

The next two comparisons (fourteen and fifteen) concern those ‘making images’ and those ‘serving God’. These ideas are not contained in the other versions of the *Apology*, but the redactor of *B&I* does not rely on an external source. In our earlier discussion on the language of ‘making images’ we concluded that this reference was a redaction made after the original composition of the *Apology* text, but not by the *B&I*

⁵⁸⁶ Οὐχ ὁ μὲν τις λίθος ἐστὶν ὅμοιος τῷ πατουμένῳ, ὁ δ' ἐστὶ χαλκός οὐ κρείσσων τῶν εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν ἡμῖν κεχαλκευμένων σκευῶν, ὁ δὲ ξύλον ἤδη καὶ σεσηπός, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος χρήζων ἀνθρώπου τοῦ φυλάξαντος ἵνα μὴ κλαπῇ, ὁ δὲ σίδηρος ὑπὸ τοῦ διεφθαρμένου, ὁ δὲ ὄστρακον, οὐδὲν τοῦ κατασκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν ἀτιμοτάτην ὑπηρεσίαν εὐπρεπέστερον; ... Ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ νῦν νομίζοντες καὶ οἰόμενοι, οὐ πολὺ πλεον αὐτῶν καταφρονεῖτε; οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς χλευάζετε καὶ ὑβρίζετε, τοὺς μὲν λιθίνους καὶ ὄστρακίνους σέβοντες ἀφυλάκτους, τοὺς δὲ ἄργυρέους καὶ χρυσοὺς ἐγκλείοντες ταῖς νυξί, καὶ ταῖς ἡμέραις φύλακας παρακαθιστάντες, ἵνα μὴ κλαπῶσιν;

⁵⁸⁷ Chapter 31: οὐκ εὐσεβείας is omitted in M.

⁵⁸⁸ See chapter 2.B of this study. Chapter 27: παρεισάγεται θεὸς εἶναι is replaced with καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς ὧν ὡς μυθεύονται in HW₁. Τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον παρεισάγουσι has been replaced with Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον λέγουσι in HW₁ (W₁ then omits θεὸν εἶναι).

⁵⁸⁹ Volk does not indicate that this discussion on Aphrodite, Ares and Dionysius had been sourced from elsewhere.

redactor. The conclusion of the sixth comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology* was that, given the similarity in meaning of λατρεύοντες and σέβεσθαι, the redactor of *B&I* has deliberately chosen λατρεύοντες rather than the *Apology*'s σέβεσθαι: the most probable explanation for this is that the redactor has drawn upon the *Apology* text as a source, but has re-written its content. When, in the comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, we looked at the use of λατρεύοντες and σέβεσθαι, we did not explore in any detail the use of λατρεύοντες, particularly its use in the *Apology*. In *B&I*, λατρεύοντες is preferred over σέβεσθαι.⁵⁹⁰ λατρεύοντες appears in the Greek *Apology* three times⁵⁹¹ (in comparison to σέβεσθαι, which is used seven times). Although λατρεύοντες and σέβεσθαι are interchangeable (meaning 'to serve', 'to worship'), if we presume that the translator of the Syriac version translated λατρεύοντες as 'to serve' and σέβεσθαι as 'to worship', we find that only once is 'to serve'⁵⁹² used in the Syriac version, while 'to worship' (which has a parallel to σέβεσθαι in the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*) is used in chapters 3.1, 12.2, 12.4 and 17.3. Further, 'to worship' is used in the Syriac version in the prefix to chapter 1 and in chapters 9.3, 12.4, 12.5, and 14.3-4 of the *Apology* (with neither comparison to the Greek *B&I*, nor to the Armenian or the Greek fragment versions of the *Apology*), as well as in Chapters 3.1 (parallel of προσκυνούσι in Greek *B&I* version) and 12.1 (parallel of ἡρκέσθησαν in Greek *B&I* version). 'Worship' also appears, without a parallel to the other versions of the *Apology*, in chapter 1.2 of the Armenian version. Based on the first four parallels of the use of 'worship' and σέβεσθαι,⁵⁹³ we can conclude that σέβεσθαι is the preferred verb by the *Apology* of the other versions, while λατρεύοντες in the Greek *Apology* is a redaction, possibly made by the redactor of *B&I*.

⁵⁹⁰ σέβεσθαι appears in chapters 7, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 31 of *B&I*. Of these, chapters 24 and 26 quotes an external source. If the redactor of *B&I* did use the *Apology* as a source for chapters 7 and 31 of *B&I* (σέβεσθαι in chapter 7 is used four times and is used three times in chapter 31), we only have one independent use of σέβεσθαι: chapter 25 of *B&I*.

⁵⁹¹ Chapters 2.2, 14.2 and 16.5. None of which have a direct parallel to any of the other versions of the *Apology*. The uses of λατρεύοντες will be discussed below.

⁵⁹² As previously discussed, in the fifth comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, chapter 3.1 of the Syriac version of the *Apology* reads: 'and they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them'. Similar content can be found in the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* however instead of λατρεύοντες, the text contains σέβεσθαι.

⁵⁹³ For this assumption to be correct, reliance must be placed on the consistency of the Syriac translator (and English translator) in translating the same verb from the Greek into Syriac.

This conclusion regarding the insertion of λατρεύοντες into the *Apology* is only applicable for chapter 16.5 of the *B&I* version, which reads: ‘serving the living God’.⁵⁹⁴ We find no parallel between the Greek *B&I* version and any other version of the *Apology*. The idea of ‘serving God’ is found in *B&I* chapter 31 and the *Apology*, suggesting that the redactor has added to the *Apology*. The other two occasions in the *Apology* where λατρεύοντες is used are not contextually similar to any other version of the *Apology*; more importantly these uses⁵⁹⁵ are not contextually similar to any other use of λατρεύοντες in *B&I*. In the absence of any linguistic, contextual or content comparison between the use of λατρεύοντες in *B&I* and the *Apology*, it is impossible to discern whether the ideas and language⁵⁹⁶ in the *Apology* were inserted by the redactor of *B&I* or by a previous redactor.⁵⁹⁷

The sixteenth comparison between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, ‘worshipping the Creator’, has a parallel in chapters 2 and 15 of the Syriac version of the *Apology*, and chapter 2 of the Armenian version. Volk thinks that the redactor of *B&I* has not borrowed this phrase from an external source.⁵⁹⁸ Therefore, its use could be another example of the pattern that has run throughout the comparisons between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*.

The language and content in the sixteenth and seventeenth comparison between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, specifically the use of ‘through Christ’, and the redactor’s expounding on the theology of Christ in *B&I*, indicate that these texts are independent of one another here. Yet, we can find parallels in language and content between chapter 15 of the Greek *B&I* version and chapter 2 of the Syriac and Armenian

⁵⁹⁴ λατρεύειν ζῶντι θεῷ.

Chapter 31: τῷ θεῷ (as part of τῷ θεῷ μου λατρεύσω) is omitted in W₁W₂.

⁵⁹⁵ οὗτοι γὰρ γεγονάσιν ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι τῆς τῶν πολυνύμων θεῶν λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως. (*Apology* 2.2), Ἄλλ’ ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι πολλάκις ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς τῶν ἔθνων σεβάσμασι (*Apology* 14.2).

⁵⁹⁶ ‘For these have been guides and preceptors to the rest of the nations in the service and worship of these many-titled deities.’ (*Apology* 2.2); ‘and often served the idols of the nations’ (*Apology* 14.2). The only occasion in *B&I* where ‘serving idols’ appears, a different verb is used: καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν εἰδώλοις (*Apology* 7); the other instances where ‘serving’ (λατρεύοντες) is used, it is in conjunction with God. Although this evidence may be deemed as speculation, it is possible that the use of ‘serve the living God’, or certainly parts of this phrase, have been inserted into the *Apology* by the redactor of *B&I*.

⁵⁹⁷ We assume this as neither the Syriac, nor Armenian or Greek fragments contain content that is similar to the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*.

⁵⁹⁸ This is because it is a common phrase.

Chapter 31: τῶν ἀπάντων appears as πάντων in R’R”. Chapter 27: τῶν ἀπάντων appears as πάντων in T.

versions of the *Apology*. According to Volk,⁵⁹⁹ the content of chapter 31 (with respect to the theology of Christ) has been formed from a number of biblical passages. Therefore the redactor must not be drawing on the *Apology*.

As previously pointed out, the evidence indicates a constant pattern in the relationship between the *Apology* and chapter 31 of *B&I*, in which the redactor of *B&I* does not quote the *Apology* directly, but draws information from it. Similar language, content, or context can be found in the other versions of the *Apology*; but there is no depth of similarity between *B&I* chapter 31 and the *Balavariani*, nor the rest of *B&I*, nor any other external source. In addition, this comparison between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology* has helped us to understand the extent to which the redactor of *B&I* has, in principle, left the *Apology* unaltered in its substance, preferring to draw from it as a source. Where and when he rewrote its content in his own words, he tried to keep to its theology and content, although not always successfully. The willingness of the redactor of *B&I* not to alter the *Apology* substantially must be explored further. The evidence discussed so far has suggested that in the rare cases where the redactor may have changed the *Apology*, he has preferred to insert additions, rather than change sections of the text. Nevertheless, a question remains as to the extent of those additions as well as of subtle changes. In what follows, we discuss important phrases and ideas that appear throughout *B&I*, but not in the *Apology*.

D) *B&I* Topics absent from The *Apology*

The following list of ideas has been arrived at through a close reading of and comparison between *B&I* and the *Apology*. It is important to understand how the redactor of *B&I* handles specific theological topics, and what features of his language and ideas influence the novel but not the *Apology*. This will enable us to grasp how the redactor deals with external sources, such as the *Apology*. Ten features that appear in *B&I* but not in the *Apology* are:

1. The use of 'Trinity' and 'Father'
2. Λόγος theology
3. Use of the Bible; particularly biblical quotations

⁵⁹⁹ Barlaam et Ioasaph (2006): 328.

Chapter 27: after κυρίου (before Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) K adds καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. K replaces ἀνεβίω (after τρεῖς ἡμέρας) with ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.

4. Baptism
5. Satan and devils
6. Angels
7. Catholic Church and Orthodox Faith
8. 'The Faithful'
9. Θεοτόκος
10. Incarnation.

The ninth and tenth items in the list have been discussed elsewhere in this study;⁶⁰⁰ in the following subsections, we undertake an in-depth analysis of the first eight ideas.

i) 'Trinity' and 'Father'

To understand the use of 'Father' in *B&I*, we must first fathom how the redactor refers to the Trinity. He does so in a number of ways, including the 'blessed and life giving Trinity'⁶⁰¹ and 'three persons';⁶⁰² he calls the Trinity pure and Holy,⁶⁰³ and contemplates the Trinity in prayer.⁶⁰⁴ The appearance of the Trinity is unsurprising in a Christian novel, and especially so here because the Trinity appears in the *Balavariani*.⁶⁰⁵ We find twelve references to the Trinity in the *Balavariani*, eight of which call the Trinity

⁶⁰⁰ A discussion on the use of Θεοτόκος in *B&I* can be located in chapter 2.A of this study, in the eighteenth comparison. A discussion regarding the Incarnation can be located in the same chapter, but in the twentieth comparison.

⁶⁰¹ *B&I* 8: τὸ πλησίον γενέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς τριάδος (Gregory Nazianzenus, *Orationes* 16,9); chapter 20: καὶ τῷ φωτὶ περιλαμφομένη τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς τριάδος, τῆς ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι δοξαζομένης; chapter 25: καὶ τῷ φωτὶ περιλαμφομένη τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς τριάδος; chapter 39: καὶ τῆς ἐλλάμψεως καταξιούμενοι τῆς μακαρίας ὄντως καὶ αρχικῆς τριάδος.

⁶⁰² *B&I* 7: ἀλλ' ἓνα Θεὸν γινώσκω καὶ ὁμολογῶ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι δοξαζόμενον, λέγω δὴ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι (John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei* 2,15) [...] Οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν εἷς Θεός; chapter 10: εἷς δὲ Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶ, μία φύσις, μία βασιλεία, μία δύναμις, μία δόξα, μία οὐσία, διαιρετὴ ταῖς ὑποστάσεσιν καὶ μόνον (Gregory Nazianzenus, *Orationes* 39, 12,27) [...] ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν μίαν δοξάζοντες θεότητα· καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἀληθὴς καὶ μόνος Θεός, ὁ ἐν τριάδι γινωσκόμενος, ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα; chapter 17: τούτου χάριν κάμπω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν ἐν τριάδι δοξαζόμενον Θεὸν ἡμῶν, τὸν πάντων δημιουργὸν ὁρατῶν; chapter 19: καὶ υἱὸς μὲν γίνῃ Θεοῦ, ναὸς δὲ τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ πνεύματος. Πίστευε τοίνυν εἰς πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ζωαρχικὴν τριάδα ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν καὶ μιᾷ θεότητι δοξαζομένην; chapter 24: ὁ μόνος ἅγιος καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις ἀναπαύομενος, ὁ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι δοξαζόμενος, εἰς ᾧ βεβήπτισμαι. Καὶ ὁμολογῶ, δοξάζω τε καὶ προσκυνῶ ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν.

⁶⁰³ *B&I* 8: τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντες, καὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ τριάδι καθαρῶς παριστάμενοι.

⁶⁰⁴ *B&I* 20: ναὸν αὐτὴν ποίησον τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος.

⁶⁰⁵ 1.6 (twice), 1.8, 2.23, 2.26 (twice), 2.30, 3.46, 3.54, 3.60, 3.63, 3.68. R. Volk, 'Symeon Metaphrastes' (1996): 79 is the only scholar who cross checks external evidence with *B&I* as well as the *Balavariani*.

‘Holy’.⁶⁰⁶ In stark contrast, among the thirteen references in *B&I*, on only two occasions does the redactor call the Trinity ‘Holy’;⁶⁰⁷ instead, he prefers ‘life-giving’.⁶⁰⁸ The redactor of *B&I* refers to the Trinity in a number of ways, many of which also mention the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Given that throughout *B&I* all the individual members of the Trinity are mentioned as a clause (Father, Son and Holy Spirit), it is important to see the difference to the *Apology* in chapter 27, where neither the Father nor the Trinity are mentioned.

It must be noted first that, like the Trinity,⁶⁰⁹ the Father is not used in the alternative versions of the *Apology* either. ‘Father’, in a Trinitarian context,⁶¹⁰ does appear throughout the *Balavariani*, however.⁶¹¹ Its popularity continues into the translated text of *B&I*, where we find a number of examples where Father is used either on its own, or in reference to other members of the Trinity. We find, for example: ‘Father of lights’,⁶¹² statements that the Father (alone or with other members of the Trinity) should be glorified,⁶¹³ discussion on baptism in the three members of the Trinity,⁶¹⁴ references to all three members of the Trinity (without using the term τριάς),⁶¹⁵ among other instances of the redactor using ‘Father’.⁶¹⁶

⁶⁰⁶ 1.6, 2.23, 2.26, 3.46, 3.54, 3.60, 3.63, 3.68.

⁶⁰⁷ In *B&I* 8 and 20.

⁶⁰⁸ See above.

⁶⁰⁹ The other versions of the *Apology* do not infer the Trinity through phrases such as the ‘Godhead’ or ‘three persons’.

⁶¹⁰ As opposed to an earthly father.

⁶¹¹ 1.3, 1.8, 2.20, 2.25, 2.26, 2.29, 2.30, 2.40, 3.47, 3.53, 3.59, 2.60, 3.61, 3.63, 3.65, 3.68.

⁶¹² *B&I* 2, 10.

⁶¹³ *B&I* 7, 11, 24, 35, 40 (twice).

⁶¹⁴ *B&I* 7, 8, 19, 28, 35.

⁶¹⁵ *B&I* 7 (twice), 10, 19 (thrice), 22, 25, 34.

⁶¹⁶ The Son being one substance with (*B&I* 7), as well as other theological and doctrinal ideas such as the Father who is unbegotten (*B&I* 19), who begat the Son (*B&I* 19) and the Son who proceeds from the Father (*B&I* 19). The Father coming down to speak to the Son (*B&I* 7), the Son who sits at the right hand (*B&I* 7), prayer to the Father (*B&I* 9, 21), who is in heaven (*B&I* 9, 11 (twice), 25), who shows love (*B&I* 12) and should be worshipped (*B&I* 19, 30). That it was the Father’s pleasure to send down Christ (*B&I* 19), and that he is the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ (*B&I* 19) and that you can call on Him (*B&I* 20) and that he with Christ created the world (*B&I* 24), and you can access the Father through the Holy Ghost (*B&I* 31) and that the Son, even when on the cross, never departed from the Father’s glory (*B&I* 31), and that the Son is the Word of the invisible Father (*B&I* 34). That it was the good will of the Father to send his Son (*B&I* 34), and that he is merciful (*B&I* 36) and that Father is just one of his many names (*B&I* 36).

‘Father’ (not an earthly father) is used a total of sixty-six times in *B&I*, appearing in over half the chapters,⁶¹⁷ in a variety of contexts. Because of this variety, let us examine the first chapter of *B&I* to get an understanding of possible sources the redactor may have used. ‘Father’ is mentioned four times: ‘the only-begotten Son of God, which is in the bosom of the Father’;⁶¹⁸ ‘without leaving his Father’s throne’;⁶¹⁹ ‘was seated at the right hand of the majesty of the Father’;⁶²⁰ and ‘to baptise them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost’.⁶²¹ Each of these uses of ‘Father,’ however, is borrowed from an external source, mostly the New Testament. Of the sixty-six instances of the word ‘Father’, referring to God, twenty-one have been independently inserted by the redactor of *B&I*.⁶²² Hence it is the redactor’s own theological position that makes him insert ‘Father’ into *B&I*; yet he does not do so in the *Apology*.

Similarities of context and content certainly provided opportunities for the redactor of *B&I* to make Trinitarian additions to the *Apology*. For example, the *Apology* mentions ‘God the Creator and Fashioner of all things through the only-begotten Son

⁶¹⁷ *B&I* 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40.

⁶¹⁸ Ὅτε δὲ ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς, taken from Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Thomæ Apostoli* 2,1-3. The phrase κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς can be found in *John* 1:18.

⁶¹⁹ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θρόνον μὴ ἀπολιπὼν is taken from Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Joannis Evang.* 1. ‘Fathers throne’ may be found in *Revelation* 3:21.

⁶²⁰ καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς μεγαλωσύνης καθίσας, taken from Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Philippi Apostoli* 6. A parallel may also be drawn with *Hebrews* 1:3 and *Mark* 16:19.

⁶²¹ καὶ βαπτίζειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. This has been taken from *Matthew* 28:19.

⁶²² *B&I* 2: καὶ συναΐδιος τῷ πατρί; chapter 7: ὁ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δοξαζόμενος, Βαπτισθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ φωνὴ ἠνέχθη οὐρανόθεν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς λέγουσα; chapter 10 εἰς γὰρ ὁ πατήρ, ὃ καὶ ἴδιον ἢ ἀγεννησία; chapter 19: Πίστευε τοίνυν εἰς πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα [...] Οὕτως οὖν προσκύνει τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱόν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, [...] ταῖς καθαραῖς δὲ καρδίαις ἐνοικεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν ἅμα πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἐπιστάμεθα; chapter 20: καὶ τῷ φωτὶ περιλαμφθῆναι τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς τριάδος, τῆς ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δοξαζομένης; chapter 21: τὸ τέκνον ἡδὴ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου πατρὸς; chapter 22: Ὁ πάτερ, καὶ υἱέ, καὶ θεῖον πνεῦμα, ἡ ὁμοούσιος καὶ ἀδιαίρετος θεότης, σὲ ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ σὲ δοξάζω; chapter 24: καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀποταξάμενος, Χριστῷ συνεταξάμην, τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς υἱῷ καὶ λόγῳ· [...] ὁ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δοξαζόμενος; chapter 25: οἱ πιστεύσαντες εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱόν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα; chapter 30: Σὲ γὰρ ποθῶ καὶ σοὶ προσκυνῶ, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας; chapter 34: κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ καὶ λόγε τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς, [...] εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι γνωριζόμενος εἷς θεός· [...] εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος; chapter 35: οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεὸς πλὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δοξαζομένου. [...] τέκνον οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ οὐρανίου πατρὸς; chapter 39: καὶ δοξασθῇ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομά σου, τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὅτι σοὶ πρέπει δόξα καὶ αἴνεσις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν; Epilogue σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

and the Holy Spirit'.⁶²³ In comparison, chapter 2 of *B&I* reads 'and being alike without beginning, and coeternal with the Father, and having created the heavens and the earth by his word, made man with his own hands...'⁶²⁴ Where the *Apology* chapter 15 states that Jesus 'ascended into heaven', the redactor could have inserted 'and is seated at the right hand of the Father',⁶²⁵ yet he does not.

It is evident that the language of the *Apology* is very different to that of *B&I*. This difference is especially evident when the two texts discuss doctrine. As previously noted, chapter 7 of *B&I* has much in common with the *Apology* in terms of content, context and language, but the theology is different:

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 7	<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27
<p>ἀλλ' εὐδοκία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός ὁ μονογενῆς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρός, ὁ ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ὁ προαιώνιος, ὁ ἄναρχος, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὢν καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα ὢν καὶ θεὸς ὢν.</p>	<p>Εἴτα ὡς εὐδοκῆσεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (14.2) ... Οὗτος δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὡμολόγηται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβάς (15.1) ... γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (15.3) ... ἄναρχον καὶ ἀίδιον (1.2).</p>

As we can see here, despite some similarities, we see the mentioned differences between the *Apology* and *B&I*.⁶²⁶ One of the main differences is the use of 'Father' in the *B&I* outside the chapter with the *Apology*. Another major difference is *B&I*'s use of Λόγος theology, which does not feature in the *Apology*.

⁶²³ *Apology* 15 τὸν θεόν, κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. This is an example where scholars are concerned with comparing the *Apology* to the Bible: here, *Romans* 11:36. Geffcken then tries to show how the idea of 'creator and sustainer of all' can be located in other second century literature, proving that the *Apology* is from the second century. However, this only suggests that the idea is locatable within the second century. J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 86. Although no scholar looks at whether the rest of *B&I* contains similar ideas to the second century. Some scholars have come to the same conclusion as I have: the Syriac has been altered. See also Frédéric Chapot, 'Apologie 4,1 et 15, 1' (1998): 207-9; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 5; E. Hennecke, 'Aristides-Apologie' (1893): 123.

⁶²⁴ ὁς – ἄναρχος τε ὢν καὶ συναΐδιος τῷ πατρὶ – καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποστήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τε χερσὶν οἰκείαις ἐδημιούργησε.

⁶²⁵ Which is used by the redactor in chapters 1 and 7 of *B&I*.

⁶²⁶ Chapter 7: after the first πατρός, T adds καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. After the second θεοῦ, W₂ adds πατρός. Following the second πατρός, ὁ ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ is omitted in U₂. After ὁ ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ καί, U₁ adds τῷ υἱῷ. After ἀρχῇ ὢν L omits καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα ὢν and M omits καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα ὢν καὶ θεός.

ii) Λόγος Theology

When we check the language, linguistic forms and theological ideas of the *Apology* and the Greek *B&I* version, we notice that the former does not contain a *Logos* theology. In fact, this is the case across all textual traditions of the *Apology*: there is no *Logos* theology in the Syriac, Armenian or Greek fragment versions.⁶²⁷ If we took the Greek version of the *Apology* as a part of *B&I*, and not an independent entity, we might ask why *Logos* theology is missing from chapter 27, when it does feature elsewhere in the novel. Why, in a chapter that contains theological ideas and statements that resemble some form of creed,⁶²⁸ or at least sound well thought out and demonstrates theological ideas about the beliefs of the Christians, is Jesus not once referred to as the ‘Word of God’?

⁶²⁷ The Christology of the *Apology* is very simple. See L. W. Barnard, ‘Apologetik I’ (1978): 376. There is only one scholar who has noticed the lack of *Logos* theology in the *Apology*: M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 56.

⁶²⁸ J.N.D. Kelly, *Creeds* (1950): 76.

Logos is used a total of twelve times⁶²⁹ throughout *B&I*: in chapters 7,⁶³⁰ 8,⁶³¹ 9,⁶³² 11,⁶³³ 19,⁶³⁴ 24,⁶³⁵ 31,⁶³⁶ 33,⁶³⁷ 34⁶³⁸ and 37.⁶³⁹ Similar to the observation made in the previous section with regard to ‘Trinity’ and ‘Father’, there are a number of opportunities for the redactor of *B&I* to change the text of the *Apology* to include reference to the ‘Word’. We find similar context between *B&I* and the *Apology*:

<i>B&I</i>	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
Ο γὰρ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐνανθρωπήσας θεὸς λόγος, (11)	Οὗτος δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολόγηται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ· ἅπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων (15.1)
καὶ ὅτι ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατήλθεν ἐπὶ γῆς, (19)	γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεόν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ἐν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (15.3)

⁶²⁹ *Logos* is used throughout *B&I*: the majority of which are in a non-Trinitarian context (i.e. Jesus being ‘the Word’). *Logos* in a non-Trinitarian context is used three times in the *Apology*: chapter 8 ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν εἰ θελήσομεν ἐλθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, πολλὴν ὄψει τὴν ἀτοπίαν; chapter 10 Εἴτα τὸν Ἑρμῆν παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι ἐπιθυμητὴν καὶ κλέπτειν καὶ πλεονέκτην καὶ μάγον, καὶ κυλλὸν καὶ λόγον ἐρμηνευτήν; chapter 13 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μυθικαὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαι, οὐδὲν εἰσιν, εἰ μὴ μόνον λόγοι.

⁶³⁰ ἀλλ’ εὐδοκία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς (John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei* 45, 36-40; *John* 1:18)

⁶³¹ Οὕτω γὰρ ὁ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐνανθρωπήσας θεὸς λόγος (Clementina, *Epitome praeemphr.* 18,13-7) [...] καὶ ἐπιγίνοις εὐαγγελιζομένη, ἥνπερ γεγράφασιν οἱ αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου, οὓς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηκα, ὅτι μαθητὰς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἐξελέξατο (*Luke* 1:2).

⁶³² Ζῶν γάρ, φησίν, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργής, καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον (*Hebrews* 4:12-3).

⁶³³ Ο γὰρ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἐνανθρωπήσας θεὸς λόγος (No external source).

⁶³⁴ καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοδυνάμεως ἢ τοῦ υἱοῦ δύναμις ἐξεφάνη, ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ λόγος ἐνυπόστατος, (Basilii Caesariensis, *adversus Euomium libri tres* 2,27, 36-9; *Hebrews* 1:3) [...] καὶ ὅτι ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατήλθεν ἐπὶ γῆς (John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei* 2.17-28) [...] Αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (*Hebrews* 4:12).

⁶³⁵ καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀποταξάμενος Χριστῷ συνεταξάμεν, τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς υἱῷ καὶ λόγῳ (No external source).

⁶³⁶ ἀνόητε σὺ καὶ λιθοκάρδιε, χλευάζειν με τολμᾷς λέγοντα ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐδ’ ὅλως ἐκστὰς τῆς πατρικῆς δόξης (Athanasius, *vita Antonii* 74,4).

⁶³⁷ τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου διεξήει συγκαταβάσεως, τὰ θαυμάσια ἐκήρυττε τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας (Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Thomae Apostoli* 9,20).

⁶³⁸ Καὶ δέομαι τῶν ἀμετρήτων σου οἰκτιρμῶν, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ καὶ λόγε τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς, ὁ πάντα λόγῳ παραγαγὼν (No external source).

⁶³⁹ ἐρασθέντες τοῦ θείου κάλλους καὶ τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς λογισάμενοι τοῦ θείου λόγου φίλτρον (Theodoretus, *Historia Religiosa* XXXI 18, 22-6).

However, despite the opportunity offered, the *Apology* makes no mention of the ‘Word’. As a result, the theology of the *Apology* stands out from the rest of the *B&I* novel; this is especially evident when creedal statements made by the redactor of *B&I* are similar to the *Apology*.

iii) The Bible

Before we look at how the *Apology* and *B&I* use the Bible as a source and a text from which they quote, it is important to understand how other second century texts use the Bible: doing so will enable us to understand the material the author of the *Apology* had in front of him when he wrote his text, and how the redactor of *B&I* uses the Bible as a source. If, for example, in contrast to *B&I*, the *Apology* does not use the Bible extensively, then it is possible to conclude that the text has been less influenced by its redactor, perhaps even by earlier redactions. Let us first presume, like previous scholarship,⁶⁴⁰ that the *Apology* (as it appears in *B&I*) is from the second century. We can see that the *Apology* does draw on biblical ideas, but does not quote the Bible at length. How does this compare to other second century texts? Justin Martyr’s works, composed at the same time as the *Apology*, contain verses from the Old Testament as well as from the ‘so-called gospel(s)’, although the latter quotes are not identical with the wording as we know it from our canonical Gospels. The same cannot be said of Clement of Rome as he knows of what we call the Old Testament and the letters of Paul, but does not quote the Gospels; Ignatius barely quotes the Old Testament, but makes wide use of Paul, yet does not quote the New Testament Gospels either, similar to him is Barnabas.⁶⁴¹ While it is impossible to ascertain why the *Apology* author did not quote the Bible, giving full verses, it is nevertheless worth exploring this question, especially since we find parallel ideas in the *Apology* and the Bible.

Editors of the *Apology*, such as B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre as well as J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, suggest that a number of passages within the *Apology* refer

⁶⁴⁰ M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 40-2 is the only other scholar to state explicitly that the *Apology* does not quote the Old or New Testament. Picard does propose that the *Apology* ‘suggests’ references to the Bible.

⁶⁴¹ Reading these four early church fathers’ texts, it is clear that they use some books of the Bible as a source. For a recent survey of use of the New Testament in early second century literature, see M. Vinzent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (2014).

to, or at least invoke biblical passages.⁶⁴² Aristides, unlike other second century authors, is preoccupied with theology. He does not try to prove the truth of Christianity by using prophecies from the Old Testament, which would have been a lot more productive in discussion with Jews. Instead, Aristides is more concerned with eschatology and listing major events linked to the life and death of Jesus.⁶⁴³

The *Apology* alludes to biblical imagery on only a few occasions. However, it must be stressed, the *Apology* does not appear to intentionally quote or infer any specific Biblical passage.⁶⁴⁴ Furthermore, although some editors have pointed to lines or phrases in the *Apology* as referring to (or implying) a specific biblical passage, in fact the content of those biblical passages does not relate to the content of the *Apology*.⁶⁴⁵ While the *Apology* does not quote any biblical passage, *B&I* does regularly quote both short phrases and longer sections from the Bible, often from the New Testament or the Psalms.⁶⁴⁶ There are four possible conclusions that may be drawn as to how the *Apology* author uses the Bible: first, that he does quote from the Bible; second, that the same phrase may be found in both the Bible and the *Apology*, but in different contexts; third, that no comparison may be drawn; or finally, that the vast differences in theology and content indicate that the *Apology* is not relying on the Bible.

With regard to the first possible conclusion, the section of the *Apology* that is most similar to the Bible in terms of vocabulary and word forms is to be found in chapter 14 where the short expression clearly reminds of a number of Old Testament passages: ‘with a mighty hand and an uplifted arm’.⁶⁴⁷ The phrase ‘with a mighty hand

⁶⁴² *Apology* 1.1 refers to 2 Maccabees 7:28; 1.2 refers to Colossians 1:16-7 and Acts 17:25; chapter 3.1 infers Romans 1:25; chapter 4.1 infers Romans 1:23 (J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* [1891]: 38); chapter 8.1 infers Romans 1:22; throughout chapter 14 there are references to (in order of appearance) Acts 13:26; Exodus 3:15, 3:8, 6:1; Acts 13:17; Deuteronomy 13:2; Psalm 77:15; Genesis 35:2; Deuteronomy 29:17; Psalm 81:10; 1 Kings 19:10; Matthew 13:17; Acts 7:52; Romans 10:2; chapter 15 refers to Mark 5:7; John 6:33; Matthew 1:21; John 1:14; Colossians 1:20; 1 Corinthians 15:4; Acts 1:9; Luke 24:51; Matthew 10:1, 28:19; Acts 1:8, 11:26 (B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* [2003]: 256-93; J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* [1891]). See also Frédéric Chapot, ‘*Apologie* 4,1 et 15, 1’ (1998): 201; F. Sasse, ‘Ein in armenischer Übersetzung’ (1879): 618.

⁶⁴³ M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 43; J. R. Harris and J. A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 25.

⁶⁴⁴ Which will be detailed below. G. Downey, ‘Der griechische Barlaam-Roman’ (1956): 167-8 discusses the importance of passages which have been cited as parallels, or references, when the text does not refer to the aforesaid passage, or could equally refer to, infer or quote another passage. Here she mentions how F. Dölger states that his second parallel has been taken from John 1:18; instead there are a number of other scriptural passages this could refer to.

⁶⁴⁵ See below.

⁶⁴⁶ A full discussion on how *B&I* uses the Bible will be presented below.

⁶⁴⁷ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

and an uplifted arm’ appears throughout the Old Testament: *Exodus* 6:1,⁶⁴⁸ *Deuteronomy* 4:34,⁶⁴⁹ 5:15,⁶⁵⁰ 6:21,⁶⁵¹ 9:29,⁶⁵² 26:8;⁶⁵³ *Psalms* 135 (136):12;⁶⁵⁴ *Jeremiah* 32:21;⁶⁵⁵ *Ezekiel* 20:33⁶⁵⁶ and 34;⁶⁵⁷ *Baruch* 2:11.⁶⁵⁸ There are other places where the expression appears, but not as we have it in the *Apology*.⁶⁵⁹ Furthermore, the *Apology* as it appears in the Greek *B&I* is the only version that uses ‘with a mighty hand and an uplifted arm’: it is absent from the Syriac, Armenian and Greek fragment versions which might point to the fact that this expression was introduced either by the *Vorlage* of the Greek *B&I* text of the *Apology* or by the *B&I* redactor himself. Interestingly, B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre reference this phrase only to *Exodus* 6:1 and *Acts* 13:17.⁶⁶⁰ What this analysis reveals is that there is no parallel context between the verses that include the phrase ‘with a mighty hand and an uplifted arm’ and one of the Old Testament passages.

The rest of the *Apology* quotes no more than one or two words from the Bible in a single phrase.⁶⁶¹ One of the examples is another well known Old Testament

⁶⁴⁸ ἐν γὰρ χειρὶ κραταιᾷ ἐξαποστελεῖ αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ ἐκβαλεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦς.

⁶⁴⁹ καὶ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

⁶⁵⁰ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

⁶⁵¹ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ. A number of texts add an extra ἐν before ‘outstretched arm,’ which is not in *Deuteronomy* 26:8. For example, Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* 69.528.52 and 69.649.35. Whereas in Cyril’s *Expositio in Psalmos* 69.1201.21 we see that he does not add ἐν.

⁶⁵² καὶ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

⁶⁵³ καὶ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

⁶⁵⁴ Ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ. The *Psalms* suggests that it was all controlled and accomplished by God. The *Apology* agrees with this statement, but mentions that Moses was used by God to accomplish these tasks. John Chrysostom (*Expositiones in Psalmos* 55.401.38) uses the same phrase located in *Psalms* 135.

⁶⁵⁵ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

⁶⁵⁶ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

⁶⁵⁷ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ, καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ.

⁶⁵⁸ καὶ νῦν, κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, ὃς ἐξήγαγες τὸν λαόν σου ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν σημείοις καὶ ἐν τέρασιν καὶ ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ καὶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ὄνομα ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη.

⁶⁵⁹ *Deuteronomy* 7:19, 11:2; *1 Kings* 8:42; *2 Chronicles* 6:32; *Jeremiah* 21:5.

⁶⁶⁰ This passage in *Acts* only includes ‘uplifted arm’ and excludes ‘outstretched hand’. It is inconceivable how the editors of the critical edition of the *Apology* fail to mention any other passages which bear a greater similarity to the *Apology*.

⁶⁶¹ See below.

expression, ‘wonders and signs’ or, as we find it in the Old Testament, ‘signs and wonders’.⁶⁶² Although these words have been picked up in the seventeenth comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology* we must expand further on the analysis. As with the previous expression, also this one is frequently used both in the Old and the New Testament,⁶⁶³ and as before, so also ‘wonders and signs’ (*Apology* 14.2) does not appear in the other versions of the *Apology*. Hence, it is very likely again, that it has been introduced either by the *Vorlage* of the Greek *Apology* or by the redactor of the *B&I*. The phrase is, indeed, used five times in *B&I*: in chapters 7;⁶⁶⁴ 9⁶⁶⁵ and 32,⁶⁶⁶ although the context is different to that of the *Apology*. The different context underlines, however, that the expression is an integral part of the language of the redactor of the *B&I* and a borrowing neither from the *Vorlage* of the *B&I* nor from the inserted *Apology*.

That there is no borrowing directly from the Bible is a matter applicable to the whole of the *Apology*, in particular chapters 14 and 15. Let us examine some of the sections of the *Apology* that have similar content, or phrases reminding of the Bible, even though the context is different:

<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27	Bible
καὶ <u>τέρασι</u> πολλοῖς καὶ <u>σημείοις</u> ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν. (14.2)	ἐὰν δὲ ἀναστῇ ἐν σοὶ προφήτης ἢ ἐνυπνιαζόμενος τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ᾗ σοι <u>σημεῖον</u> ἢ <u>τέρας</u> . (<i>Deuteronomy</i> 13:2)

⁶⁶² σημείοις καὶ τέρασι.

⁶⁶³ ‘wonders and signs’ appears in *The Wisdom of Solomon* 10:16; *Acts* 2:19, 22, 43, 6:8, 7:43. ‘signs and wonders’ appears in *Deuteronomy* 4:34, 13:2(1), 26:8, 34:11; *Jeremiah* 32 (39):21; *Baruch* 2:11, *Matthew* 24:24; *John* 4:48, *Acts* 4:30, 5:12, 14:3, 15:12; *Romans* 15:19; 2 *Corinthians* 12:12; 2 *Thessalonians* 2:9; *Hebrews* 2:4. Of all these examples, none of these lexically reflect the *Apology*.

⁶⁶⁴ καὶ δουλωθέντας αὐτοὺς ἔθνη Αἰγυπτίῳ καὶ Φαραῶ τινι τυράννῳ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι φρικτοῖς καὶ ἐξαισίοις ἐξήγαγεν ἐκεῖθεν διὰ Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρών, ἀνδρῶν ἁγίων καὶ χάριτι προφητείας δοξασθέντων. [...] Καὶ ἀποτότε ἤρξατο σημεῖα ποιεῖν μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά, νεκροὺς ἀνίσταν, τυφλοὺς φωτίζων, δαίμονας ἀπελαύνων, κωφοὺς καὶ κυλλοὺς θεραπεύων, λεπροὺς καθαρίζων [...] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖ – μανέντες, οἷσπερ τὰ προειρημένα θαυμαστά σημεῖα τε καὶ τέρατα πεποιήκει.

⁶⁶⁵ οἱ γὰρ ταῦτα κηρύξαντες ἐν μηδενὶ τῆς ἀληθείας διαμαρτόντες, ἀλλὰ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσι τὰ λεχθέντα ἐμπεδωσάμενοι, αὐτοὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰσηγήσαντο.

⁶⁶⁶ Καὶ οἱ μὲν θεῖοι κήρυκες τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, οἱ σοφοὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀλιεῖς, οἱ πάντας ἐλκύσαντες τοῦ βυθοῦ τῆς ἀπάτης, οὓς ὁ εὐτελής σύ, καὶ δοῦλος ὄντως τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐξευτελίζεις, ἔλαμψαν σημείοις καὶ τέρασι καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσιν ὥς ἥλιος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τυφλοῖς τὸ φῶς δωροῦμενοι, κωφοῖς τὸ ἀκούειν, χωλοῖς τὸ περιπατεῖν, νεκροῖς τὸ ζῆν χαρίζομενοι.

<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	Bible
Ἄλλ' ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι πολλάκις ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν σεβάσμασι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν. (14.2)	Εἶπε δὲ Ἰακωβ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἄρατε τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἄλλοτρίους τοὺς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν, καὶ καθαρίσθητε, καὶ ἀλλάξατε τὰς στολὰς ὑμῶν. (Genesis 35:2)
καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς <u>προφήτας</u> καὶ δικαίους <u>ἀπέκτειναν</u> . (14.2)	Καὶ εἶπεν Ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἰσραὴλ· τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν, καὶ τοὺς <u>προφήτας</u> σου <u>ἀπέκτειναν</u> ἐν ρομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολέλειμμαι ἐγὼ μονώτατος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν. (1 Kings 19:10)
καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς <u>προφήτας</u> καὶ δικαίους <u>ἀπέκτειναν</u> . (14.2)	Ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τῶν καὶ τὸν κύριον <u>ἀποκτείναντων</u> Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς <u>προφήτας</u> , καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκδιωξάντων, καὶ θεῶ μὴ ἀρεσκόντων, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίων. (1 Thessalonians 2:14-5)
Οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οὗτος δὲ <u>υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑψίστου</u> ὁμολόγηται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβάς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. (15.1)	καὶ κράζας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγει, Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ <u>υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου</u> ; ὀρκίζω σε τὸν Θεόν, μὴ με βασάνισης. (Mark 5:7)
Οὗτος δὲ <u>υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑψίστου</u> ὁμολόγηται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ <u>ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβάς</u> διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. (15.1)	ὁ γὰρ ἄρτος <u>τοῦ Θεοῦ</u> ἐστὶν ὁ <u>καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ</u> καὶ ζῶν διδοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ. (John 6:33)

The *Deuteronomy* passage is about a prophet who tells the people about a sign or a wonder; the *Apology* is about God making his power known through signs and wonders. The context of the *Genesis* passage is Jacob telling his household to be rid of the foreign gods and to purify themselves; the *Apology* is simply stating that the Jews served the idols of the nations and put to death the prophets, an expression that does not appear in

the other versions of the *Apology*.⁶⁶⁷ The 1 *Kings* passage is closer than the other passages; however, the author of 1 *Kings* says that the Israelites (not Jews, as the *Apology* calls them) rejected the covenant and put the prophets to death by the sword, a topic that is picked up again by Paul in 1 *Thessalonians* 2:14-5 and placed in relation to Jesus; yet, the Greek *Apology* of the *B&I* states that ‘the Jews’ killed the prophets and the righteous. This passage does not appear in the other versions of the *Apology* either, nor does the notion appear in *B&I* elsewhere, suggesting that this phrase has not been added by the redactor of *B&I*, but has entered already the *Vorlage* of the *B&I*. The passage from *Mark* is spoken by the Devil; that in the *Apology* is clearly not. Further, the language is different. Finally, the passage from *John* has Jesus saying that the bread of God (Jesus) comes down from heaven and gives life to the world; the *Apology* states that the son of God (Jesus) is most high and came down for the salvation of humanity.⁶⁶⁸ Further, a different preposition is chosen for ‘from’ heaven. Although the meaning is the same, this demonstrates that the *Apology* author is not relying on the *Bible* as a reference source, albeit that he does draw upon biblical terms and ideas which he inserts into the *Apology*.

Nevertheless, B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre have indicated that there are parallels between biblical passages and the *Apology*.⁶⁶⁹

<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	<i>Bible</i>
καὶ τέρασι πολλοῖς καὶ σημείοις ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν. (14.2)	ἐλυτρώσω ἐν τῷ βραχίονί σου τὸν λαόν σου, τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ· (<i>Psalms</i> 77:15)
Ἄλλ’ ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι πολλάκις ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν σεβάσμασι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν. (14.2)	Μὴ τίς ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ, ἡ γυνή, ἡ πατριὰ, ἡ φυλὴ, τίνος ἡ διάνοια ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν, πορεύεσθαι λατρεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκείνων· μὴ τίς ἐστὶν ἐν ὑμῖν ρίζα ἄνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ· (<i>Deuteronomy</i> 29:17)

⁶⁶⁷ There have been a number of discussions on the use of the idols and foreign god in the *Apology* and *B&I*. Although there are some similarities between the *Apology* and *B&I* (which shall not be reiterated here), nowhere in *B&I* does the redactor use the phrase ‘idols of the nations’, suggesting the redactor of *B&I* has not inserted this idea into the *Apology*.

⁶⁶⁸ If we look to the Christian text comparison (in appendix 3), we can see that only chapter 2 of the Armenian and chapter 15 of the Greek *B&I* contains the ‘Holy Spirit’; the Syriac however does not once mention the Holy Spirit. This may suggest the Armenian and Greek have gone through a post-fourth century redaction to include the reference to the Holy Spirit.

⁶⁶⁹ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 284.

We have partly already dealt with these examples. Especially in the first example, the difference between the ‘parallels’ is astounding. The second comparison may have some higher degree of similarity. However, the *Deuteronomy* passage is more similar to the content of chapter 31 of *B&I*, and therefore much more similar to the *Epistulam ad Diognetum* than to the *Apology* as given in chapter 27. Although the idea of worshipping foreign gods is present in both texts, there is no additional material to compare. The lack of similarity in ideas cannot support any speculation that the *Apology* author refers to this biblical passage.

Here follow two more passages, pointed out by Pouderon and Pierre.⁶⁷⁰

<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>	Bible
διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεὶς ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθόρως σάρκα ἀνέλαβε καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις. (15.1)	Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. (<i>John</i> 1:14)
οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἄνοδον αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεγαλωσύνην. (15.2)	πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. (<i>Matthew</i> 28:19)

For instance, the context of the first comparison concerns Jesus becoming flesh. The content of the biblical passage includes two important terms which the *Apology* does not use: λόγος and πατρός. We have seen how neither appear in any version of the *Apology*. Why, therefore, do the editors of the critical edition suggest that the *Apology* 15.1 is referencing *John*? Likewise, although in the second comparison there is a similar context, the disciples going out into the world, the *Matthew* passage is rather different from the *Apology* in two ways, it uses the term πατρός and gives a reference to ‘baptism’.⁶⁷¹

This evidence leads to two conclusions. First of all, the *Apology* does not copy or refer to the Bible as a source. Although there are some terms and expressions that remind of Old and New Testament traditions, the context is different. It is not clear why

⁶⁷⁰ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 287.

⁶⁷¹ The use of baptism in *B&I* and the *Apology* will be discussed in the proceeding section.

the *Apology* makes so little use of the Scriptures, perhaps that the intended audience of the *Apology* that has a bearing, or a rather remote acquaintance of the author with Scriptures, whereas the text seems closer to the Old Testament than to the writings of the New Testament. Yet, the author does know some biblical expressions. Second, this makes one understand why some scholars have thought the author of the *Apology* may have been a Jew,⁶⁷² because in that case he would have been aware of the Old Testament and its contents. However, the church fathers were always using the Old Testament so it is questionable whether a Jew did write the *Apology*. If a Jew did write the *Apology*, one has to contextualise the clear anti-sacrificial and anti-ritualistic stance, apparent in the end of chapter 1 of the *Apology* where it is stated that God ‘requires no sacrifice and libation nor any one of the things that appear to sense’ (see also chapter 14 of the *Apology*, likewise *Hebrews*). This statement does certainly not derive from Temple-orientated Judaism; it could be argued the rest of the *Apology* was written by an Hellenised Jew, however, little additional evidence supports this idea that the author was Jewish. And there is the more fundamental fact that the *Apology* makes a clear distinction between races and differentiates between ‘Jews’ and ‘Christians’. Although, the ‘Jews’ are placed closer to the ‘Christians’ compared to the ‘Chaldeans’/‘Barbarians’ or ‘Greeks’, they are nevertheless regarded as a race different from that of the ‘Christians’. Therefore the author would not have categorised himself as a member of the race of the Jews.

To answer this, future studies may give more insights, once further layers of the *Apology* are stripped down. What we can conclude is that the *Apology* as it is given in all extant versions have not inserted clear biblical references. To highlight the differences between the *Apology* and *B&I* in their use of the Bible, I will show how the Old and New Testaments are used by the redactor of *B&I*. Working slowly through the Old Testament and the New Testament it is possible to see the extent to which the redactor of *B&I* copies entire sections from the Bible and inserts them into the novel, while also invoking a number of biblical ideas. The redactor of *B&I* uses the Bible throughout the novel, except for chapter 27: the chapter of the *Apology*. Let us first look at how the Torah is used in *B&I*.

B&I quotes four of the ten commandments:

⁶⁷² M. Alexandre, ‘Apologétique’ (1998): 1-40; R. van den Broek, ‘Eugnostos and Aristides’ (1988): 203; K.-G. Essig, ‘Erwägungen zum geschichtlichen Ort’ (1986): 178-82; G. C. O’Ceallaigh, ‘“Marcianus” Aristides’ (1958): 227; J. Kaspar, ‘Aristides’ (1913): 19.

<i>B&I Chapter 11</i>	<i>Exodus 20:13-6</i>	<i>Deuteronomy 5:17-20</i>
Ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Μωσέως νόμος, ὁ πάλαι δοθεὶς τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις, <u>οὐ φονεύσεις</u> , λέγει, <u>οὐ μοιχεύσεις</u> , <u>οὐ κλέψεις</u> , <u>οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις</u> .	<u>οὐ μοιχεύσεις</u> . <u>οὐ κλέψεις</u> . <u>οὐ φονεύσεις</u> . <u>οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις</u> κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ.	<u>οὐ φονεύσεις</u> . <u>οὐ μοιχεύσεις</u> . <u>οὐ κλέψεις</u> . <u>οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις</u> κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ.

Here *B&I* is not only borrowing this passage from the Torah (more clearly from *Deuteronomy* rather than from *Exodus*), he is also introducing the quote with an explicit reference introduction pointing to the Law of Moses, given to the Israelites. Additionally, *B&I* has left out κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ.⁶⁷³

The redactor of *B&I* is also well versed in the contents of the history books of the Old Testament: comparing Ioasaph to David, and Abenner to Saul.⁶⁷⁴ ‘And the house of Ioasaph grew and waxed strong, but the house of Abenner waned and grew weak, even as the Book of the Kings declareth concerning David and Saul.’⁶⁷⁵ This passage is referring to 2 *Samuel* 3:1: ‘There was a long war between the house of Saul and the house of David; David grew stronger and stronger, while the house of Saul became weaker and weaker.’⁶⁷⁶ The redactor is also familiar with the poetic books of the Old Testament, which he uses throughout *B&I*: ‘Thereupon I perceived and looked, and behold! All things present are vanity and vexation of the spirit, as somewhere in his writings saith Solomon the wise.’⁶⁷⁷ This is from the writings of Solomon: *Ecclesiastes* 1:14: ‘I saw all the deeds that are done under the sun; and see, all is vanity and a chasing after wind.’⁶⁷⁸ Sections of the Greek *B&I* echo *Ecclesiastes* word for word:

⁶⁷³ We must reiterate here that the Old Testament phrase ‘signs and wonders’ appears throughout *B&I*.

⁶⁷⁴ See *B&I* 33.

⁶⁷⁵ καὶ ὁ μὲν οἶκος τοῦ Ἰωάσαφ ἤρξαντο καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο, ὁ δὲ οἶκος τοῦ Ἀβεννήρ ἡλαττοῦτο καὶ ἡσθένει, καθάπερ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ τοῦ Σαουλ ἢ τῶν Βασιλείων διαγορεύει βίβλος. (*B&I* 33)

⁶⁷⁶ Καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ πόλεμος ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνάμεσον τοῦ οἴκου Σαουλ καὶ ἀνάμεσον τοῦ οἴκου Δαυὶδ· καὶ ὁ οἶκος Δαυὶδ ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο, καὶ ὁ οἶκος Σαουλ ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἡσθένει.

⁶⁷⁷ Τότε δὴ τότε κατενόησα καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ πάντα τὰ παρόντα ματαιότης καὶ προαίρεσις πνεύματος, καθά που καὶ Σολομῶν ὁ σοφώτατος ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔφη συγγράμμασι (*B&I* 2).

⁶⁷⁸ Εἶδον σύμπαντα τὰ ποιήματα τὰ πεποιημένα ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον· καὶ ἰδοὺ τὰ πάντα ματαιότης καὶ προαίρεσις πνεύματος.

πάντα τὰ παρόντα ματαιότης καὶ προαίρεσις πνεύματος, with the exception that the two texts use different word forms (ἰδοῦ)/see (εἶδον). However, in chapter 25 of *B&I* the redactor writes: ‘There is a time to love, and a time to hate; a time to wait, and a time of peace.’⁶⁷⁹ This verse from *Ecclesiastes* 3:8⁶⁸⁰ has been copied word for word by the redactor of *B&I* and inserted into the novel.

On a number of occasions *B&I* invokes ideas from the *Psalms*, in particular when Ioasaph is praying to God. One such occasion (chosen at random) is from chapter 25: the king continues to seek to bring Ioasaph back to idol worship, so Ioasaph prays for strength and comfort: “‘Have mercy of me, Lord God, have mercy of me; for my soul trusteth in thee; and under the shadow of thy wings I shall hope till wickedness overpass. I shall cry to the highest God; to God that did well to me,” and the rest of the Psalm.’⁶⁸¹ The only difference between this, and the *Psalms* he is quoting,⁶⁸² is that the *B&I* redactor adds ‘Lord’.

Interestingly, the redactor of *B&I* often prefers to quote the New Testament rather than the Old Testament. For example, chapter 8 reads: ‘What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him.’⁶⁸³ This is 1 *Corinthians* 2:9;⁶⁸⁴ Paul, however, was quoting *Isaiah* 64:3.⁶⁸⁵ It shows that the redactor has specifically chosen 1 *Corinthians* over *Isaiah* as he was more familiar with the former text.

Chapter 6 of *B&I* contains the parable of the sower. This parable appears in all three synoptic Gospels, although the three versions are quite different in their wording. Which version of the parable does the redactor of *B&I* use?

⁶⁷⁹ Καιρός, φάσκονος, τοῦ φιλῆσαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ μισῆσαι, καιρὸς πολέμου καὶ καιρὸς εἰρήνης.

⁶⁸⁰ Καιρὸς τοῦ φιλῆσαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ μισῆσαι, καιρὸς πολέμου καὶ καιρὸς εἰρήνης.

⁶⁸¹ Ἐλέησόν με, Κύριε, εἶπεν, ὁ θεός, ἐλέησόν με, ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ πέποιθεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου καὶ ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν πτερυγῶν σου ἐλπῶ ἕως οὗ παρέλθῃ ἡ ἀνομία. Κεκραῶμαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον, τὸν θεὸν τὸν εὐεργετήσαντά με, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ ψαλμοῦ.

⁶⁸² Ἐλέησόν με ὁ Θεός, ἐλέησόν με, ὅτι ἐπὶ σοὶ πέποιθεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου, καὶ ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν πτερυγῶν σου ἐλπῶ, ἕως οὗ παρέλθῃ ἡ ἀνομία. Κεκραῶμαι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον, τὸν Θεὸν τὸν εὐεργετήσαντά με· (57:1-2).

⁶⁸³ Ἄ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὗς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

⁶⁸⁴ ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται, Ἄ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὗς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

⁶⁸⁵ Ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον Θεὸν πλὴν σοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου, ἃ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν ἔλεον.

B&I Chapter 6	Matthew 13:1-9	Mark 4:1-9	Luke 8:4-8
Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης·	Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐξελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν <u>θάλασσαν</u> · καὶ <u>συνήχθησαν</u> πρὸς αὐτὸν <u>ὄχλοι πολλοί</u> , ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα <u>καθῆσθαι</u> , καὶ <u>πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος</u> ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἰστίκει. καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς <u>πολλὰ ἐν παραβολαῖς λέγων</u> ,	Καὶ πάλιν ἤρξατο διδάσκειν παρὰ τὴν <u>θάλασσαν</u> · καὶ <u>συνάγεται</u> πρὸς αὐτὸν <u>ὄχλος</u> πλείστος, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα <u>καθῆσθαι</u> ἐν τῇ <u>θαλάσσῃ</u> , καὶ <u>πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος</u> πρὸς τὴν <u>θάλασσαν ἐπὶ</u> τῆς γῆς ἦσαν. καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν <u>παραβολαῖς</u> πολλά, καὶ <u>ἔλεγεν</u> αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ, Ἀκούετε.	<u>Συνιόντος</u> δὲ <u>ὄχλου πολλοῦ</u> καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιπορευομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν διὰ <u>παραβολῆς</u> ,
<u>Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπειραῖ·</u> <u>καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν, ὁ μὲν ἔπεσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθε τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτά. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσε παρὰ τὰ πετρώδη, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχε γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐβλάστησε, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς· ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν ἐξηράνθη. Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτά.</u>	<u>Ἴδου ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν·</u> <u>καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν, ὁ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἐλθόντα τὰ πετεινὰ κατέφαγεν αὐτά. ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς· ἡλίου δὲ ἀνατείλαντος ἐκαυματίσθη καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν ἐξηράνθη. ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ ἐπνιξαν αὐτά.</u>	<u>ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων σπειραῖ·</u> <u>καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπείρειν ὁ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό. καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρώδες, ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς· καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐκαυματίσθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν ἐξηράνθη. καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἄκανθαι καὶ συνέπνιξαν αὐτό, καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν.</u>	<u>Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπειραῖ</u> τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ. <u>καὶ ἐν τῷ σπείρειν αὐτόν, ὁ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ κατεπατήθη καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέφαγεν αὐτό. καὶ ἕτερον κατέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, καὶ φυὲν ἐξηράνθη διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἱκμάδα. καὶ ἕτερον ἔπεσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν, καὶ συμφρεῖσαι αἱ ἄκανθαι ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτό.</u>

<i>B&I Chapter 6</i>	<i>Matthew 13:1-9</i>	<i>Mark 4:1-9</i>	<i>Luke 8:4-8</i>
<u>Ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν</u> <u>ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν</u> <u>καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου</u> <u>καρπὸν</u> <u>ἑκατοστεύοντα.</u>	<u>ἄλλα δὲ ἔπεσεν</u> <u>ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν</u> <u>καλὴν καὶ ἐδίδου</u> <u>καρπὸν,</u> <u>ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν, ὁ δὲ</u> <u>ἑξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ</u> <u>τριάκοντα.</u> <u>ὁ ἔχων ὥτα ἀκουέτω.</u>	<u>καὶ ἄλλα ἔπεσεν εἰς</u> <u>τὴν γῆν τὴν</u> <u>καλὴν, καὶ ἐδίδου</u> <u>καρπὸν ἀναβαίνοντα</u> <u>καὶ αὐξανόμενα,</u> <u>καὶ ἔφερεν ἐν</u> <u>τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν</u> <u>ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐν</u> <u>ἑκατόν. καὶ ἔλεγεν,</u> <u>Ὅς ἔχει ὥτα ἀκούειν</u> <u>ἀκουέτω.</u>	<u>καὶ ἕτερον ἔπεσεν εἰς</u> <u>τὴν γῆν τὴν</u> <u>ἀγαθὴν, καὶ φυὲν</u> <u>ἐποίησεν καρπὸν</u> <u>ἑκατονταπλασίονα.</u> <u>ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει.</u> <u>Ὁ ἔχων ὥτα ἀκούειν</u> <u>ἀκουέτω.</u>

B&I chapter 6 is relying mainly on *Matthew*; however, it also relies, in part, on *Luke*. Throughout the novel the redactor of *B&I* prefers *Matthew*⁶⁸⁶ to the other synoptics and the fourth Gospel. Selecting a few passages at random we can see that the redactor refers to the pearl of great price in chapter 38,⁶⁸⁷ and to the great commission in chapter 11 of *B&I*: ““Go make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Ghost,” he did not stop there, but added, “teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.””⁶⁸⁸ This is from the last chapter of *Matthew*: ‘Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age.’⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁶ Reading the critical edition of *B&I*, as provided by R. Volk, it becomes evident how this is the redactor’s preferred Gospel to quote from.

⁶⁸⁷ καί, ὡς ἐχέφρων ἔμπορος καὶ σοφός πάντα πωλήσας τὸν ἀτίμητον ἐξωνήσω μαργαρίτην, καὶ τῷ ἀσύλῳ ἐντυχὼν θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ κυρίου πάντα δέδωκας μηδενὸς φεισάμενος τῶν ὅσον οὐπὼ παρερχομένων, ἵνα τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀγοράσῃς ἑαυτῷ. This has been taken from *Matthew* 13:44-6: Ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, ὃν εὐρὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔκρυψεν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτοῦ ὑπάγει καὶ πωλεῖ πάντα ὅσα ἔχει καὶ ἀγοράζει τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐκεῖνον. Πάλιν ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ ἐμπόρῳ ζητοῦντι καλοὺς μαργαρίτας· εὐρὼν δὲ ἓνα πολὺτιμον μαργαρίτην ἀπελθὼν πέπρακεν πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν καὶ ἠγόρασεν αὐτόν. Here, unlike the parable of the sower, the redactor of *B&I* only evokes the *Matthew* passage and does not draw an etymological similarity with *Matthew*.

⁶⁸⁸ Εἰπὼν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μέχρι τούτου ἔσται, ἀλλὰ προσέθετο· διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

⁶⁸⁹ πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. (28:19-20)

There are passages that reflect the Gospel of *Luke*.⁶⁹⁰ Chapter 11 contains a section where Barlaam tells Ioasaph the parable of the prodigal son, followed by the parable of the good shepherd (*Luke* 15). Let us look first at the parable of the prodigal son:

<i>B&I Chapter 11</i>	<i>Luke 15:11-23</i>
<p>Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ υἱόν τινα εἰσηγεῖται λαβόντα τὴν τοῦ <u>πατρὸς οὐσίαν</u> καὶ</p> <p><u>εἰς χώραν ἀποδημήσαντα μακράν</u> κακεῖ ἐν ἀσωτίᾳ πάντα καταναλώσαντα,</p> <p><u>εἶτα - λιμοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην</u> γενομένου - ἀπελθόντα <u>καὶ κολληθέντα ἐνὶ τῶν πονηρῶν πολιτῶν τῆς πολυαμαρτητοῦ χώρας ἐκείνης</u>, ὃς <u>καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτόν, φησὶν, εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους</u>, τὴν τραχυτάτην καὶ βδελυρὰν οὕτω καλέσας ἀμαρτίαν. Πολλὰ οὖν μογήσας καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην ἐληλακῶς ταλαιπωρίαν,</p> <p>ὥς μηδὲ τῆς βρομώδους τῶν <u>χοίρων</u> τροφῆς τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχύειν ἐμπλῆσαι γαστέρα, <u>εἰς συναισθησιν ὀψέ ποτε ἔλθων</u> τῆς τοιαύτης αἰσχύνης, θρηγῶν <u>ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε· Πόσοι μίσθιοι τοῦ πατρός μου περισσεύονται ἄρτων, ἐγὼ δὲ λιμῷ ἀπόλλυμαι. Ἀναστὰς πορεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτῷ· Πάτερ, ἡμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱός σου· ποίησόν με ὥς ἓνα τῶν μισθίων σου. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δέ, πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐσπλαγγνίσθη, καὶ προσδραμὼν ἐνηγκαλίσσατο καὶ συμπαθῶς κατεφίλησε·</u></p>	<p>Εἶπεν δέ, Ἄνθρωπός τις εἶχεν δύο υἱούς. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ νεώτερος αὐτῶν τῷ πατρί, <u>Πάτερ, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας</u>. ὁ δὲ διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὸν βίον. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν ἅπαντα ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς <u>ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακράν</u>, καὶ ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἀσώτως. δαπανήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο <u>λιμὸς ἰσχυρὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην</u>, καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξατο ὑστερεῖσθαι. <u>καὶ πορευθεὶς ἐκολλήθη ἐνὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης, καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτόν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους·</u></p> <p>καὶ ἐπεθύμει χορτασθῆναι ἐκ τῶν κερατίων ὧν ἤσθιον οἱ <u>χοῖροι</u>, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου αὐτῷ.</p> <p><u>εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐλθὼν ἔφη,</u></p> <p><u>Πόσοι μίσθιοι τοῦ πατρός μου περισσεύονται ἄρτων, ἐγὼ δὲ λιμῷ ὥδε ἀπόλλυμαι. ἀναστὰς πορεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ ἐρῶ αὐτῷ, Πάτερ, ἡμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου, οὐκέτι εἰμὶ ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱός σου· ποίησόν με ὥς ἓνα τῶν μισθίων σου. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσπλαγγνίσθη καὶ δραμὼν ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν. Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῷ,</u></p>

⁶⁹⁰ There are few passages where the redactor of *B&I* uses *Mark*. His preference, which becomes evident as one reads Volk's critical edition is: *Matthew, John, Luke, Mark*.

<i>B&I Chapter 11</i>	<i>Luke 15:11-23</i>
καὶ τῆς <u>προτέρας</u> ἀξιώσας τιμῆς ἐορτὴν χαρμόσυνον ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀνευρέσει ἐποιήσατο, <u>θύσας τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν.</u>	Πάτερ, ἡμαρτον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐνώπιόν σου, οὐκέτι εἰμὶ ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱός σου. εἶπεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ, Ταχὺ ἐξενέγκατε στολὴν τὴν <u>πρώτην</u> καὶ ἐνδύσατε αὐτόν, καὶ δότε δακτύλιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποδήματα εἰς τοὺς πόδας, καὶ φέρετε <u>τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν, θύσατε</u> καὶ φαγόντες εὐφρανθῶμεν.

There are some parts of this parallel where it is evident the redactor of *B&I* has lifted entire phrases from the Gospel; however, he is also willing to rewrite the Gospel: either rephrasing into his own words or inserting alternative ideas. This is exactly what we saw in the parallel between chapters 7 and 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*: the redactor is willing to paraphrase sections of an external source into his own words. Does he do the same with the parable of the good shepherd?

<i>B&I Chapter 11</i>	<i>Luke 15:4-7</i>
Ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιμένα τινὰ ἀγαθὸν αὐθις δηλοῖ <u>ἑκατὸν ἐσχηκότα πρόβατα, καὶ</u> τοῦ ἐνὸς <u>ἀπολωλότης</u> <u>καταλιπὼν τὰ</u> <u>ἐνενήκοντα ἑννέα</u> ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τοῦ ἀλωμένου ἐξελεῖν, <u>ἕως εὐρῶν</u> <u>αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς ὅμοις ἀναλαβὼν τοῖς</u> <u>ἀπλανέσι συγκατέμιξε,</u> <u>συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους καὶ</u> <u>γείτονας</u> εἰς εὐωχίαν ἐν τῇ τούτου εὐρέσει. Οὕτω, <u>φησὶν ὁ σωτὴρ,</u> <u>χαρὰ ἔσται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἐνὶ</u> <u>ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς</u> <u>ἐνενήκοντα ἑννέα δικαίοις, οἵτινες οὐ</u> <u>χρείαν ἔχουσι μετανοίας.</u>	Τίς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὑμῶν <u>ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ</u> <u>ἀπολέσας</u> ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓν οὐ <u>καταλείπει τὰ</u> <u>ἐνενήκοντα ἑννέα</u> ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς <u>ἕως εὐρῆ</u> <u>αὐτοῦ;</u> καὶ <u>εὐρῶν ἐπιτίθουσιν</u> ἐπὶ τοὺς <u>ὅμους</u> αὐτοῦ χαίρων, καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον <u>συγκαλεῖ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς γείτονας</u> λέγων αὐτοῖς, Συγχάριτέ μοι, ὅτι εὑρον τὸ πρόβατόν μου τὸ ἀπολωλός. <u>λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι</u> οὕτως <u>χαρὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔσται ἐπὶ ἐνὶ</u> <u>ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι ἢ ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα</u> <u>ἑννέα δικαίοις οἵτινες οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσι</u> <u>μετανοίας.</u>

Again, it is possible to see how the redactor of *B&I* chooses to copy some parts of *Luke*, and to rewrite other parts of the synoptic Gospel.

Moving on to the use of the fourth Gospel, we find that the redactor of *B&I* quotes only small sections. In chapter 11 we have the re-enactment of Christ asking whether Peter loves him:

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 11	<i>John</i> 21:16
Μετὰ δὲ τὴν θεῖαν ἔγερσιν τρίτον προσειπὼν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ >Πέτρε, φιλεῖς με<, τὸ τρισσὸν τῆς ἀρνήσεως διωρθώσατο τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἀποκρινομένου· <u>Ναί, κύριε,</u> <u>σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε.</u>	λέγει αὐτῷ πάλιν δεύτερον, <i>Σίμων Ἰωάννου, ἀγαπᾷς</i> με; λέγει αὐτῷ, <u>Ναί, κύριε,</u> <u>σὺ οἶδας ὅτι φιλῶ σε.</u> λέγει αὐτῷ, Ποίμινε τὰ πρόβατά μου.

We can see that Peter's response is identical in both *John* and *B&I*; the question posed by Jesus is different, with *John* referring to Peter as 'Simon John' and using ἀγαπᾷς. The redactor of *B&I*, however, calls him 'Peter' and uses φιλεῖς. Interestingly, the response to the question posed by Jesus in the Gospel of *John* uses a different form of 'love', but both *John* and *B&I* have Peter responding using φιλῶ. These differences may be caused as the fourth evangelist has made deliberate use of ἀγαπᾷς, because it has more connotations of faithfulness and devotedness, whereas the meaning of φιλέω is more to do with showing kindness or affection to another. This comparison provides yet more evidence of how well the redactor of *B&I* knows the contents of the Bible: he is able to place this quote from *John* in his novel, paraphrases the content of *John*, and places the short phrases into a similar context. Chapter 35 of *B&I* reads: 'I am the vine, ye are the branches',⁶⁹¹ which is *John* 15:5.⁶⁹² Again, although the redactor of *B&I* quotes *John*, it is nothing more than a short phrase.

However, the situation with Paul's epistles is quite different: the redactor of *B&I* quotes at length from these in the novel:

⁶⁹¹ Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα.

⁶⁹² Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα.

<i>B&I Chapter 9</i>	<i>1 Corinthians 15:1, 3-4, 12-22, 53-55</i>
<p>Γνωρίζω ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ <u>εὐαγγέλιον</u> ὃ <u>εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν</u>·</p> <p><u>παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν</u> <u>ἐν πρώτοις ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς</u> <u>ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ</u> <u>τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἠγέρθη</u> <u>κατὰ τὰς γραφάς.</u> Εἰ <u>δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται, ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν</u> <u>ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσιν</u> <u>τινες ὅτι</u> <u>ἀνάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν;</u> Εἰ γὰρ <u>νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς</u> <u>ἐγήγερται· εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται,</u></p> <p><u>ματαία ἡ πίστις</u> <u>ἡμῶν, ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀνομίαις ὑμῶν.</u></p> <p><u>Εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἡλπιότες ἐσμέν ἐν</u> <u>Χριστῷ μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων</u> <u>ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς</u> <u>ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν</u> <u>κεκοιμημένων ἐγενέτο.</u></p> <p><u>Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος,</u> <u>καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν·</u> <u>ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες</u> <u>ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ</u> <u>πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται. Δεῖ γάρ, φησί, τὸ</u> <u>φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ</u> <u>τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν·</u> <u>ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται</u> <u>ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται</u> <u>ἀθανασίαν, τότε πληρωθήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ</u> <u>γεγραμμένος· Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς</u> <u>νίκος· ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ</u> <u>σου, ἄδη, τὸ νίκος;</u></p>	<p>Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ <u>εὐαγγέλιον ὃ</u> <u>εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὃ καὶ παρελάβετε,</u> <u>ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστήκατε, [...]</u> <u>παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν</u> <u>ἐν πρώτοις, ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς</u> <u>ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν κατὰ</u> <u>τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη καὶ ὅτι ἐγήγερθη</u> <u>τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς. [...]</u> Εἰ <u>δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν</u> <u>ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν</u> <u>τινες ὅτι</u> <u>ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν;</u> εἰ δὲ <u>ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς</u> <u>ἐγήγερται· εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται,</u> <u>κενὸν ἄρα [καὶ] τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ</u> <u>καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν, εὐρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ</u> <u>ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι</u> <u>ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἡγείρεν</u> <u>τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν οὐκ ἡγείρεν εἴπερ ἄρα</u> <u>νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται. εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ</u> <u>ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· εἰ δὲ</u> <u>Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, ματαία ἡ πίστις</u> <u>ὑμῶν, ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν. ἄρα</u> <u>καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο.</u> <u>εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἡλπιότες</u> <u>ἐσμέν μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων</u> <u>ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς</u> <u>ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν</u> <u>κεκοιμημένων.</u></p> <p><u>ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος,</u> <u>καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν·</u> <u>ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες</u> <u>ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ</u> <u>πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται. [...]</u> <u>δεῖ γὰρ τὸ</u> <u>φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ</u> <u>τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν.</u> <u>ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται</u> <u>ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται</u> <u>ἀθανασίαν, τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος</u> <u>ὁ γεγραμμένος· Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς</u> <u>νίκος· ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ νίκος; ποῦ σου,</u> <u>θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον;</u></p>

This is another clear example of how the redactor of *B&I* uses the New Testament, often quoting large sections as well as interspersing these sections with ideas and terms from his own pen. It also shows the preference of the redactor to quote directly from 1

Corinthians, rather than paraphrase parts of it (as we have seen he does in *Luke* and *John*). Let us look at the following (Pseudo-)Pauline epistle to see how this is treated:

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 2	<i>Ephesians</i> 6:12
καὶ ἀντιπαλαίων πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ὡς φησὶν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος.	ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.

For the majority of this passage, the redactor of *B&I* is copying *Ephesians*, although he is comfortable to change the passage slightly despite referring it explicitly to the ‘blessed Paul’. What about the the pseudo-Pauline texts of *Timothy*? Ideas from 1 *Timothy* recur throughout *B&I*, for example ‘signs and wonders’ (as previously discussed), and referring to Jesus as the ‘King of kings, Lord of lords’.⁶⁹³ This latter idea has been taken from 1 *Timothy* 6:15,⁶⁹⁴ and appears throughout *B&I*.⁶⁹⁵

The letter to the *Hebrews* is used, and from a randomly chosen passage we can see how in chapter 36 the redactor of *B&I* copies a verse from *Hebrews*: “Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.”⁶⁹⁶

Finally, let us look at how the redactor uses the first epistle of *John*. In chapter 2 of *B&I*, he stitches together two different chapters of 1 *John*:

⁶⁹³ ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων.

⁶⁹⁴ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, ‘King of kings’ originates from 2 *Maccabees* 13:4 and 3 *Maccabees* 5:35; these forms are different to *B&I* and the New Testament.

⁶⁹⁵ In *B&I* 7, 24, 25.

⁶⁹⁶ Εἰρήνην διώκετε μετὰ πάντων καὶ τὸν ἀγιασμόν, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν κύριον. This is from *Hebrews* 12:14: Εἰρήνην διώκετε μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τὸν ἀγιασμόν, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν κύριον.

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 2	1 John 5:19	1 John 2:15-7
<p><u>Ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται· καί, μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν κόσμον, μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ,</u></p> <p><u>ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἡ ἀλαζονία τοῦ βίου,</u></p> <p><u>καί, ὁ κόσμος παράγεται καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.</u></p>	<p>οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμεν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται.</p>	<p><u>Μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν κόσμον μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. ἐάν τις ἀγαπᾷ τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν αὐτῷ· ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἡ ἀλαζονεία τοῦ βίου, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐστίν. καὶ ὁ κόσμος παράγεται καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.</u></p>

Again, it is possible to see how the redactor of *B&I* is selective in his use of parts of the New Testament.⁶⁹⁷ In this comparison, he has missed out: ‘the love of the Father is not in those who love the world’ and ‘comes not from the Father but from the world’. Even though the redactor uses ‘Father’ throughout his text, he chooses here to exclude it.

Thus the evidence demonstrates the number of different ways in which the redactor of *B&I* uses the Bible as a source: he sometimes quotes large sections of text, sometimes paraphrases, and quotes short phrases; or, as the *Apology* does, he borrows ideas and short phrases (such as ‘signs and wonders’ and ‘king of kings’) and inserts them throughout the novel, purposefully invoking the well-known Bible passage. Although it could be suggested that the redactor of *B&I* has inserted biblical ideas into the *Apology*, the evidence⁶⁹⁸ suggests otherwise.

Let us now move to another topic mentioned earlier on in this section: baptism and its use in *B&I*.

⁶⁹⁷ ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ is omitted in IOU₁W₁W₂Kech.

⁶⁹⁸ Which was discussed at the beginning of this section.

iv) Baptism

As stated in the previous section, *Matthew* 28:29 can be discounted as a source for the *Apology* because the Gospel refers to the ‘Father’ as well as ‘baptism’. The theme of baptism is emphasised and discussed throughout *B&I*,⁶⁹⁹ but it does not once feature in any version of the *Apology*. Throughout the novel, the redactor of *B&I* makes frequent reference to baptism, and a number of characters, including Ioasaph, are baptised.⁷⁰⁰ Baptism is called ‘holy’,⁷⁰¹ and is often described as being performed in the Trinity: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.⁷⁰² Chapters 11 and 12 of *B&I* contain a number of discussions between Barlaam and Ioasaph; of these, some are theological, for example, ‘what happens if I commit a sin after baptism?’, while others regard the nature of baptism.⁷⁰³

In contrast to its prevalence in *B&I*, baptism is not mentioned at all in the *Apology*. Baptism is important, because it is necessary for the remission of sins, accepted by Christians as salvation from death. In fact, so fundamental is this idea to Christianity that perhaps the author of the *Apology* deemed it unnecessary to include reference to it: that is, the exclusion of baptism from the *Apology* may have been deliberate because it would have detracted from the purpose of the text.

⁶⁹⁹ Baptism appears towards the end of the *Balavariani* in 3.55 and 3.59.

⁷⁰⁰ Ioasaph is baptised in chapter 19 of *B&I*; other baptisms include those whom Thomas met in India (chapter 1), Jesus (chapter 7), Nachor (chapter 28), Theudas (chapter 32), the king Abenner (chapter 35) as well as all the rulers and people in Ioasaph’s half of the kingdom (chapter 33) and later in the other half of the kingdom which Ioasaph inherits (chapter 35).

⁷⁰¹ *B&I* 19 (θεῖον), 28 (θεῖον), 30 (θείου, twice), 32 (θείου and θεῖω) and 35 (θεῖω and θείου). G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly (*Barlaam and Ioasaph* [1967]: 101) call baptism ‘heavenly.’ the Greek uses ἅγιος (holy) with θείου (chapter 8). There are no external sources which use this phrase.

⁷⁰² *B&I* 1, 7, 8, 11, 19 and 35.

⁷⁰³ Outside of *B&I* 11 and 12, chapter 8 states you need to be baptised to be saved: after baptism, the Holy Ghost dwells in the soul. In chapter 18, baptism is received as ‘the seal of saving’ (σφραγίδα τηνικαῦτα δεξιῶμαι τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος) in which one is perfected in. Chapter 19 states we ‘acknowledge one Baptism, by water and the Spirit, for the remission of sins’ (Πρὸς τοῦτοις ὁμολόγει ἐν βάπτισμα ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. This has been taken from *Symbolum Nicaenum Constantinopolitanum* 80,15). In chapter 24, converts are baptised into ‘this faith’ (‘this faith’ being Christianity. ὁ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δοξαζόμενος, εἰς ἃ βεβάπτισμαι. See also chapter 8). Ioasaph says in chapter 30: ‘I was cleansed in the laver of Holy Baptism from the sins of my youth and ignorance’ (Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξ ὅτε τῷ λουτρῷ ἐκαθάρθην τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος τῶν τῆς νεότητος καὶ ἀγνοίας μου πταισμάτων) and he continues in chapter 32 declaring: ‘as soon as thou goest down into the laver of Holy Baptism, all the defilement of the old man, and all the burdens of thy many sins, is buried in the water’ (Ἄμα γὰρ τῷ καταδύναί σε τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος ὅλον τὸ αἶσχος τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὅλος ὁ φόρτος τῶν πολλῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐνθάπτεται τῷ ὕδατι καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν χωρεῖ).

v) Satan, the Devil and devils

Neither ‘Satan’ nor the ‘Devil or devils’ appear in any version of the *Apology*. ‘Satan’⁷⁰⁴ is infrequently used in *B&I*; ‘the Devil’⁷⁰⁵ is used more frequently; ‘devil’⁷⁰⁶ is more common still, used for an evil figure: this may be because the Greek δαίμων could be translated as a heathen god or a demon.⁷⁰⁷ There are only two examples where we find ideas parallel to those in the *Apology*: chapter 10: ‘They expend wealth, for to raise statues and images to devils, and vainly boast that these give them good gifts’,⁷⁰⁸ and chapter 25: ‘The objects of thy veneration are not gods but statues of devils, charged with all their filthy power’⁷⁰⁹ reflect the first thirteen chapters of the *Apology*, in particular the discussion of polytheistic gods. However, even in these cases there is no depth of comparison between *B&I* and the *Apology*.

We have yet more proof of the extent to which the redactor of *B&I* will not insert ideas he places elsewhere in his text into the *Apology*. We have seen how evil figures do not feature in the *Apology*: what about heavenly figures?

⁷⁰⁴ *B&I* 7: διάβολος κέκληται καὶ σατανᾶς προσωνόμασται. Taken from Justin’s *Dialogue with Tryphro* 103,5; chapter 21: ἅμα δὲ εἰς φυλακτήριον ἐμοὶ πάσης σατανικῆς ἐνεργείας; chapter 25: ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ’ ἐμέ καὶ ἐλέησόν με, καὶ παράστηθι ἐκ πάσης σατανικῆς ἐνεργείας διατηρῶν με ἀλώβητον.

⁷⁰⁵ *B&I* 7: διάβολος κέκληται καὶ σατανᾶς προσωνόμασται (Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 103,5); chapter 14: τῷ διαβόλῳ ἡτοιμάσται καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ (*Matthew* 25:41); chapter 18: Ἐπεὶ με τῆς πικρᾶς τοῦ διαβόλου δουλείας ἐλευθερῶσαι ἠκέεις [...] ὥς ἂν ταύτην τροπώσμενος καὶ τὸν αὐτῆς ἀρχηγὸν διάβολον εἰς γῆν καταρράξας; chapter 19: ἀλλ’ ἡμέτερον ἔργον τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου (Gregory Nazianzenus, *Orationes* 40, 45, 16-20) [...] καὶ δόντα ἡμῖν τοῦτον σύμβολον τῆς κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου νίκης: φρίττει γὰρ καὶ τρέμει μὴ φέρων καθορᾶν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν; chapter 21: ἐνίσχυσον αὐτὸν βεβαιῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν διαθήκην σου καὶ ἐξελοῦ τῆς ἀπάτης τοῦ διαβόλου; chapter 25: Ἀγκιστρον γάρ ἐστι τοῦ διαβόλου (Basil of Caesarea, *Homily* 13,5); chapter 34: καὶ εἰς τέλος ἐλευθέρωσον τὸν δοῦλόν σου καὶ πατέρα μου τῆς χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ διαβόλου.

⁷⁰⁶ *B&I* 6: τοὺς ἄφρονas σοφίζει, δαίμονas διώκει, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι καλὸν καὶ ἐράσιμον ἀφθόνως χορηγεῖ τῷ κεκτημένῳ αὐτόν; chapter 7: δαίμονes ὠνομάσθησαν, ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀπατεῶνες; chapter 10: τὸν μακρὰν αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀλλοτρίοις λατρεῦντα οὐ θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ δαίμοσιν ὀλεθρίοις καὶ ξοάνοις κωφοῖς καὶ ἀναισθητοῖς [...] Κατακενοῦσι χρήματα στήλας τοῖς δαίμοσι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐγεῖραι (reference to *Balavariani* 2.26) [...] Ἔθυσαν γάρ, φησί, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ (*Deuteronomy* 32:17). See also *B&I* 12, 14, 24, 25, 30, 34 and 39. In chapter 30 the adjective δαιμονικῆς, which means ‘possessed by a demon,’ is used: καὶ ῥῶσαι ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας δαιμονικῆς τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

⁷⁰⁷ In the *Balavariani*, ‘the devil’ is preferred: used in 1.2, 2.23, five times in 2.29, 3.4, 3.45, 3.49, 3.59 and 3.65. ‘Satan’ is used in 3.46, and ‘devils’ is used in 3.49. Furthermore in 2.29 the term ‘evil one’ is used three times, and is also used in 3.46.

⁷⁰⁸ Κατακενοῦσι χρήματα στήλας τοῖς δαίμοσι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐγεῖραι, καὶ φληναφοῦσιν ἀγαθῶν παρόχους αὐτοῦς ὑπάρχειν.

⁷⁰⁹ οὔτε γὰρ ἄπερ σέβῃ θεοὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ στήλαι δαιμόνων, πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν μυσαρὰν ἐνέργειαν ἔνδον ἔχουσαι.

vi) Angels

Angels appear throughout *B&I*; among a total of twenty-two references, most specify angels,⁷¹⁰ while others mention archangels,⁷¹¹ ‘angelic conversations’,⁷¹² and the ‘angelic life’.⁷¹³ Angels do not feature in the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*, although, they do appear in chapter 2.2 of the Syriac and Armenian versions,⁷¹⁴ with those two instances being parallel to one another. Angels also appear in chapter 14.3-4 of the Syriac version of the *Apology*;⁷¹⁵ however this instance has no comparison in any other version. Is there any similar context between *B&I* and the Greek *Apology*?

In chapter 1 of *B&I*, the redactor describes the monasteries in Egypt, and how the monks’ fame had spread because of their ‘virtues and angelic conversations’.⁷¹⁶ A parallel *could* be drawn to chapter 15 of the *Apology*, where the *Apology* describes at length the virtues of the Christians. Tenuous though this may be, it is just one of a few examples where the redactor of *B&I* has the opportunity to insert ideas similar to those found in *B&I* into the *Apology*. The overarching theme of chapters 15 to 17 of the *Apology* could be described with the phrase: ‘great and wonderful are the sayings and deeds of the Christians’.⁷¹⁷ This theme can be found (with a reference to angels) in *B&I*:

⁷¹⁰ *B&I* Introduction: τῶν τε δι’ αἵματος τελειωθέντων καὶ τῶν δι’ ἀσκήσεως τὴν ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν μιμησαμένων; *B&I* 7: Εἰς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων (John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei* 18,2-8) [...] καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς μακαρίας δόξης ἐκείνης καὶ ἀγγελικῆς ὀνομασίας διάβολος κέκληται καὶ σατανᾶς προσνόμασται. [...] συναπεσπάσθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συναπεβλήθη καὶ πλήθος πολὺ τοῦ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τῆς ἀγμάτος τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἵτινες (John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei* 18,14-7); chapter 8: τὸ ἄφραστον φῶς, τὴν μὴ διακοπτομένην ζωὴν, τὴν μετὰ ἀγγέλων διαγωγὴν. [...] καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ στρατιαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τρόμῳ παρίστανται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. [...] εἰς τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀνεκφράστου, μετὰ ἀγγέλων εὐφραινόμενοι, τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύοντες, καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ Τριάδι καθαρῶς παριστάμενοι; as well as *B&I* 9, 12, 20, 22, 25, 31 and 40.

⁷¹¹ *B&I* 7: καθὼς καὶ πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως εἰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἀπεστάλη μηνύων τῇ παρθένῳ τὴν ξένην σύλληψιν ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν ἄφραστον τόκον (*Luke* 1:26-45); chapter 8: Τότε ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ 1 *Thessalonians* 4:16); chapter 25: παραστήσονται δὲ αὐτῷ τρόμῳ χίλια χιλιάδες καὶ μύρια μυριάδες ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ πάντα ἔσται φόβος καὶ τρόμος μεστά (John Chrysostom, *Homiliae* 14,9). Σαλπιεῖ γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ οὐρανὸς μὲν εἰλιγίησεται ὡς βιβλίον.

⁷¹² *B&I* 1: καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀγγελομιμήτου διαγωγῆς ἡ φήμη τὰ πέρατα διελάμβανε τῆς οἰκουμένης.

⁷¹³ *B&I* 2: δι’ ἧς δυνήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀστρακίνῳ τούτῳ σώματι τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἀσπάσασθαι πολιτείαν (*Martyrium S. Eustratii et Sociorum* 9).

⁷¹⁴ ‘To God then ministers wind, and to angels fire; but to demons water, and to men earth’ (2.2 Syriac), ‘and from divinity was revealed the spiritual, and from the angels fire and from the devils liquid and from earth: human race’ (2.2 Armenian).

⁷¹⁵ ‘But in the methods of their actions their service is to angels and not to God’.

⁷¹⁶ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀγγελομιμήτου.

⁷¹⁷ Μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα (*Apology* 16).

wanting ‘to embrace the angelic life’⁷¹⁸ and ‘to obtain that unspeakable bliss, to enjoy that ineffable glory, to equal the angels in splendour’,⁷¹⁹ all of which are attained through virtuousness, the content of chapter 15 of the *Apology*. Finally, the redactor of *B&I* states: ‘Before his conception, one of the archangels was sent to announce to the Virgin that miraculous conception and ineffable birth’.⁷²⁰ When the *Apology* discusses the nature of the birth of Christ there is an opportunity for the redactor of *B&I* to insert the additional information of how the Virgin knew she was going to give birth. However, he does not do so.

The eschatology of *B&I* is more complex and developed than that of the *Apology*; indeed, in the *Apology* eschatology is on the whole non-existent. The author of the *Apology* seems to repeat doctrinal statements: ‘Looking forward to the resurrection of the dead and life in the world to come’;⁷²¹ ‘which leads those who travel therein to the everlasting kingdom promised through Christ in the life to come’;⁷²² ‘and to be saved for the age that is destined to come upon us’;⁷²³ ‘that ye may escape from condemnation and punishment, and be found to be heirs of life everlasting’.⁷²⁴ The Syriac version of the *Apology* does contain future eschatological ideas similar to those found in the Greek *B&I* version, while the Greek fragments do not contain future eschatological ideas, but have more of a realised eschatology.⁷²⁵ From both the Syriac and the Greek *B&I* versions one can see the tension between a future and a realised eschatology (as found in the Greek *B&I* and the Greek fragments), and *B&I* contains different eschatological statements:⁷²⁶ ‘And all the angel hosts stand beside him [Christ] in dread. Then, at the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God, shall the dead

⁷¹⁸ δι’ ἧς δυνήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀστρακίνῳ τούτῳ σώματι τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἀσπάσασθαι πολιτείαν (*B&I* 2).

⁷¹⁹ ὥστε τῆς ἀρρήτου μὲν χαρᾶς ἐκείνης ἐπιτυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀνεκφράστου δόξης ἀπολαύειν, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις δὲ ἀντιλάμπειν (*B&I* 25). In the *Balavariani* ‘Angels’ appears in 2.17, 2.20 and 3.47.

⁷²⁰ καθὼς καὶ πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως εἷς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων ἀπεστάλη μηνύων τῇ παρθένῳ τὴν ξένην σύλληψιν ἐκείνην καὶ τὸν ἄφραστον τόκον (*B&I* 7).

⁷²¹ καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι προσδοκῶντες ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζῶν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος (*Apology* 15.3).

⁷²² ἥτις τοὺς ὀδεύοντας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον χειραγωγεῖ βασιλείαν, τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην παρὰ κυρίου ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ζωῇ (*Apology* 16.3).

⁷²³ καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐπέρχεσθαι αἰῶνα (*Apology* 16.5).

⁷²⁴ ἵνα – κατάκρισιν ἐκφυγόντες καὶ τιμωρίας – ζωῆς ἀνωλέθρου δειχθεῖν κληρονόμοι (*Apology* 17.3).

⁷²⁵ See chapter 15.5 of the *Apology*.

⁷²⁶ With specific reference to angels.

arise’;⁷²⁷ ‘The Son of God shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather all things that offend, [...]’;⁷²⁸ ‘when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him [...]’.⁷²⁹ There are vast differences between the *Apology* and *B&I*: the *Apology* does not describe how ‘the age to come’ shall appear, nor how ‘the dead shall arise’. The eschatology alone shows the reader how different from and independent of each other are *B&I* and the *Apology*.

The claim that the redactor of *B&I* has moved chapter 2 of the Syriac and Armenian versions to chapters 14 and 15 of the Greek *B&I* version⁷³⁰ is thus proved inconceivable. Angels are referenced in the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology*. Similarly, angels are used throughout *B&I*. If the redactor had changed chapters 2 and 14 and 15 of the Greek *Apology*, why would he have excluded references to angels?

vii) Catholic Church and Orthodox Faith

Dotted throughout *B&I* are the phrases ‘Catholic (καθολικός) Church’⁷³¹ and ‘Orthodox (ὁρθόδοξος) Faith’.⁷³² Although used sparingly in the novel, both phrases (along with ‘the Faithful’, as will be seen in the next section) are very prominent when they do appear. No version of the *Apology* uses either phrase, which is perhaps unsurprising as the *Apology* is a defence of Christianity and not a promotion of the Catholic Church or Orthodox Faith. In *B&I* however, the redactor inserts both phrases independently into his text. For example, in chapter 11 he places ‘Orthodox Faith’ in the middle of a quote

⁷²⁷ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ στρατιαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τρόμῳ παρίστανται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ Τότε ἐν φωνῇ ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ ἐν σάλπιγγι Θεοῦ ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί (*B&I* 8).

⁷²⁸ ἀποστελεῖ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλέξουσι πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ βαλοῦσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός (*B&I* 9). This has been taken from *Matthew* 13:40-3.

⁷²⁹ Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι μετ’ αὐτοῦ (chapter 9). This has been taken from *Matthew* 25:31-6.

⁷³⁰ See also E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (1914): 19; J. Geffcken, *Apologeten* (1907): 22; R. Seeberg, *Aristides* (1894): 208-9.

⁷³¹ *B&I* 16 and 19.

⁷³² *B&I* 7, 11, 19 and 21.

from Gregory Nazianzenus.⁷³³ This suggests that the redactor is happy to add his own ideas to external sources. We will discuss how the redactor uses external sources in more depth in the following sections.

viii) The Faithful

The final feature that appears in *B&I* but not in any version of the *Apology* is reference to Christians as ‘the Faithful (πιστός)’.⁷³⁴ We find this term in chapters 1, 2, 7, 8,⁷³⁵ 11, 12, 18, 19, 22 and 26 of *B&I*.

The purpose of this section was twofold: to see how the redactor uses words and phrases that feature in *B&I*, but not in the *Apology*, and to begin to understand more deeply the theology of the redactor of *B&I* in comparison to that of the *Apology*, the text that he inserted without touching it too much. We have seen that there are parallels between the *Apology* and *B&I*, but that there are also key differences. For example, *B&I* refers to the Father and baptism, but the *Apology* does not. This work that I have done (in locating ideas which are missing in the *Apology* but *B&I*) has not been touched upon by any previous scholarship.

We then move on to the final section in this chapter: how the redactor handles external sources. We have seen already how he quotes some external sources, and is sometimes willing to change large sections, while at other times he does not change the text. We will concentrate on this a little more to help understand how the redactor may have treated the *Apology*.

⁷³³ *Orationes* 40, 45, 45-47. *B&I* reads: ἐποικοδομεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐργασίαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων νεκρά ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔργα δίχα πίστεως. Whereas Gregory of Nazianzenus reads ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων νεκρά ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔργα δίχα πίστεως.

⁷³⁴ The term also appears in the *Balavariani* in 1.2, 1.6, 2.31 and 3.62.

⁷³⁵ The use of ‘Faithful’ in *B&I* 8 has been taken from *Mark* 16:16.

E) How the Redactor Handles External Sources

The evidence so far suggests that the redactor of *B&I* has, mostly uncompromisingly, inserted the *Apology*. He has made some additions to the *Apology*;⁷³⁶ however, it appears that he has neither removed large sections, nor changed drastically the wording to match it to his own preferences. How does this treatment compare to that of other texts the redactor has inserted into the novel? To get an idea of how the redactor deals with large sections of inserted text,⁷³⁷ we must refer to a few of the main sources he uses throughout the novel: John of Damascus, Symeon Metaphrastes, and the Bible.⁷³⁸

i) John of Damascus

F. Dölger was convinced⁷³⁹ that *B&I* was written by John of Damascus. This was because of the number of times the redactor of *B&I* quotes the church father's texts. Other than the previously discussed parallel between chapter 19 of *B&I* and John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 2,⁷⁴⁰ the redactor of *B&I* quotes other large sections from John of Damascus. The first example can be found in chapter 15 of *B&I*:

⁷³⁶ For a list of further sources used in *B&I* see R. Volk, *Barlaam et Ioasaph* (2006); G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (1967); D. M. Lang, 'St. Euthymius' (1955): 323-4.

⁷³⁷ We have seen how some sections of text, a small phrase or a sentence from an external source was quoted; however to get a true depiction of how the redactor of *B&I* has dealt with the *Apology* we must similarly look at how the redactor inserts large sections of text from other sources. By this, we ask if the redactor has changed the language or theology, and whether he has added or removed any text of the ones that he quotes.

⁷³⁸ Only large sections of one text will be included in our references below. I define 'large section of text' as more than five lines (as found in Volk's critical edition of *B&I*). This is because anything smaller does not give a true depiction of how the redactor uses large sections of texts. Where the redactor of *B&I* jumps between different texts, or jumps between chapters of the inserted work will be noted, but not discussed. In these sources there are no major changes within manuscripts: minor changes such as word endings and misplacement of words do occur.

⁷³⁹ As previously discussed.

⁷⁴⁰ In the nineteenth comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*.

<i>B&I Chapter 15</i>	<i>Expositio Fidei 36</i>
<p>Βουλὴ δέ ἐστιν ὄρεξις ζητητικὴ περὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν πρακτικῶν γινομένη· βουλεύεται γάρ τις, εἰ ὄφειλε μετελθεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ οὐ. Εἴτα κρίνει τὸ κρεῖττον, καὶ γίνεται κρίσις. Εἴτα διατίθεται καὶ ἀγαπᾷ τὸ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς κριθέν, καὶ λέγεται γνώμη· ἐὰν γὰρ κρίνη καὶ μὴ διατεθῇ πρὸς τὸ κριθέν ἤγουν ἀγαπήσῃ αὐτό, οὐ λέγεται γνώμη. Εἴτα μετὰ τὴν διάθεσιν γίνεται προαίρεσις ἣγουν ἐπιλογή· προαίρεσις γάρ ἐστι δύο προκειμένων τὸ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκλέγεσθαι τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου.</p>	<p>Βουλὴ δέ ἐστιν ὄρεξις ζητητικὴ περὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν πρακτικῶν γινομένη· βουλεύεται γάρ, εἰ ὄφειλε μετελθεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἢ οὐ. Εἴτα κρίνει τὸ κρεῖττον, καὶ λέγεται κρίσις. Εἴτα διατίθεται καὶ ἀγαπᾷ τὸ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς κριθέν, καὶ λέγεται γνώμη· ἐὰν γὰρ κρίνη καὶ μὴ διατεθῇ πρὸς τὸ κριθέν ἤγουν ἀγαπήσῃ αὐτό, οὐ λέγεται γνώμη. Εἴτα μετὰ τὴν διάθεσιν γίνεται προαίρεσις ἣγουν ἐπιλογή· προαίρεσις γάρ ἐστι δύο προκειμένων τὸ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐκλέγεσθαι τοῦτο πρὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου.</p>

We can see that the redactor inserts this section from *Expositio Fidei* word for word, with two exceptions: the inclusion of *τις* in *B&I* and the change from *καὶ λέγεται κρίσις* to *καὶ γίνεται κρίσις*. The redactor is more purposeful with his language, indicating that God becomes judgement, as opposed to God laying down judgment. Here the redactor seems to deliberately have changed the text to suit his theology and personal preference. If we compare this to the previous discussion on chapter 31, there we saw how the redactor did not change *ἐν* in the *Apology* for the *σύν* (or equivalent) he uses in the rest of *B&I* when describing the nature of the Son being in the Father.

The next example we have of the redactor quoting a large section of text from John of Damascus is in *B&I* chapter 17:

<i>B&I Chapter 17</i>	<i>Expositio Fidei 3.29 – 33, 35 – 40, 40 – 3</i>
<p><u>τὰ μὲν νοητὰ</u> <u>κατὰ προαίρεσιν, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ</u> <u>καλῷ προκοπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ</u> <u>ἀποφοίτησιν,</u> <u>τὰ δὲ αἰσθητὰ κατὰ γένεσιν</u> <u>καὶ φθοράν, αὔξησιν τε καὶ μείωσιν καὶ τὴν</u> <u>κατὰ ποιότητα μεταβολὴν καὶ τοπικὴν</u> <u>κίνησιν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων κηρύττουσι φωναῖς</u> <u>ἀλαλήτοις</u></p> <p>ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄκτιστου καὶ ἀτρέπτου καὶ ἀναλλοιώτου γεγενῆσθαι θεοῦ,</p> <p><u>συνέχεσθαι τε καὶ συντηρεῖσθαι</u> <u>καὶ ἀεὶ προνοεῖσθαι. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν αἱ</u> <u>ἐναντία φύσεις</u> <u>εἰς ἑνὸς κόσμου</u> <u>συμπλήρωσιν ἀλλήλαις συνελήλυθισαν</u> <u>καὶ ἀδιάλυτοι μεμενήκεισαν, εἰ μὴ τις</u> <u>παντοδύναμος δύναμις ταῦτα συνεβίβασε</u> <u>καὶ ἀεὶ συνετήρει ἀδιάλυτα;</u></p>	<p><u>Τὰ μὲν νοητὰ, ἀγγέλους φημί καὶ ψυχὰς</u> <u>καὶ δαίμονας, κατὰ προαίρεσιν, τὴν τε ἐν</u> <u>τῷ καλῷ προκοπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ</u> <u>ἀποφοίτησιν, ἐπιτεινομένην τε καὶ</u> <u>ὑφιεμένην, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κατὰ τε γένεσιν καὶ</u> <u>φθοράν αὔξησιν τε καὶ μείωσιν καὶ τὴν</u> <u>κατὰ ποιότητα μεταβολὴν καὶ τὴν τοπικὴν</u> <u>κίνησιν. [...]</u></p> <p>Δεῖ δὲ τὸν δημιουργὸν ἄκτιστον εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ κάκεῖνος ἐκτίσθη, πάντως ὑπό τινος ἐκτίσθη, ἕως ἂν ἔλθωμεν εἰς τι ἄκτιστον. Ἄκτιστος οὖν ὢν ὁ δημιουργὸς πάντως καὶ ἄτρεπτός ἐστι. Τοῦτο δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλο εἴη ἢ θεός; Καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ τῆς κτίσεως συνοχὴ καὶ συντήρησις καὶ κυβέρνησις διδάσκει ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἔστι θεὸς ὁ τότε τὸ πᾶν συστησάμενος καὶ συνέχων καὶ συντηρῶν καὶ ἀεὶ προνοοῦμενος [...] πῶς γὰρ ἂν αἱ ἐναντία φύσεις, πυρὸς λέγω καὶ ὕδατος, ἀέρος καὶ γῆς, εἰς ἑνὸς κόσμου συμπλήρωσιν ἀλλήλαις συνελήλυθασι, καὶ ἀδιάλυτοι μένουσιν, εἰ μὴ τις παντοδύναμος δύναμις ταῦτα καὶ συνεβίβασε, καὶ ἀεὶ τηρεῖ ἀδιάλυτα;</p>

Here, the redactor of *B&I* does not quote in its entirety this large section from John of Damascus: rather, he quotes one sentence (lines 29 – 33 of *Expositio Fidei*), and in the following sentences only refers to John of Damascus' text (lines 35 – 40 in *Expositio Fidei*). The redactor then quotes a few more lines from the church father's work.⁷⁴¹

⁷⁴¹ In the opening sentence of the parallel, the redactor of *B&I* has removed the references to 'angels' and 'demons' which are in the *Expositio Fidei*. This is interesting as there is no explanation why the redactor should do this because both 'angels' and 'demons' appear throughout the novel.

<i>B&I Chapter 19</i>	<i>Expositio Fidei 86.47 – 8, 52 – 6</i>
<p>Ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ γὰρ ἧ̃ <u>παρεδίδοτο</u> διαθήκην <u>καινὴν διέθετο</u> τοῖς <u>ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς</u> <u>καὶ ἀποστόλοις</u> καὶ δι' αὐτῶν <u>πᾶσι τοῖς</u> εἰς αὐτὸν <u>πιστεύουσιν</u> <u>εἰπὼν</u>· <u>Λάβετε, φάγετε</u>· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν <u>κλόμενον</u> εἰς ἅφεςιν <u>ἁμαρτιῶν</u>. Ὁμοίως <u>καὶ τὸ ποτήριον λαβὼν</u> <u>δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων</u>· <u>Πίετε</u> ἐξ αὐτοῦ <u>πάντες</u>· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς <u>καινῆς διαθήκης</u>, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν <u>ἐκχυνόμενον</u> εἰς ἅφεςιν <u>ἁμαρτιῶν</u>· <u>τοῦτο ποιεῖτε</u> εἰς τὴν <u>ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν</u>.</p>	<p>ἐν ἧ̃ <u>ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου</u>, διαθήκην <u>καινὴν διέθετο</u> τοῖς <u>ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς</u> <u>καὶ ἀποστόλοις</u> καὶ δι' αὐτῶν <u>πᾶσι τοῖς</u> εἰς αὐτὸν <u>πιστεύουσιν</u>. [...] <u>λέγων</u> > <u>Λάβετε, φάγετε</u>, τοῦτό μου ἐστι τὸ σῶμά < τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν <u>κλόμενον</u> εἰς ἅφεςιν <u>ἁμαρτιῶν</u>. Ὁμοίως <u>δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον</u> ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος <u>μετέδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων</u>· > <u>Πίετε</u> ἐξ αὐτοῦ <u>πάντες</u>· τοῦτό μου ἐστι τὸ αἷμα τῆς <u>καινῆς διαθήκης</u> τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν <u>ἐκχυνόμενον</u> εἰς ἅφεςιν <u>ἁμαρτιῶν</u>· <u>τοῦτο ποιεῖτε</u> εἰς τὴν <u>ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν</u>.</p>

We can see from this comparison that the redactor of *B&I* inserts a large section from *Expositio Fidei* 86; however, he omits five lines of text from John of Damascus' work. When the redactor introduces *Λάβετε, φάγετε* in *B&I*, here he uses *εἰπὼν*. If we look at *Expositio Fidei*, John of Damascus uses *λέγων* to introduce the following quote. Thus we have another example where the redactor has changed the quoted text. Furthermore, he misses out information that is included in *Expositio Fidei* (such as *ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος μετέδωκεν*), as well as inserting his own additional information (for example *τῇ νυκτὶ γάρ*).

<i>B&I Chapter 24</i>	<i>Expositio Fidei 8.2 – 10</i>
<p><u>ἄκτιστον</u> <u>καὶ ἀθάνατον, αἰώνιον</u> καὶ <u>ἄπειρον</u>, <u>ἀπεριόριστον</u>, <u>ἄσώματον</u>, <u>ἀπαθῆ, ἄτρεπτον</u>, <u>ἀναλλοίωτον, ἄοριστον, πηγὴν ἀγαθότητος</u> <u>καὶ δικαιοσύνης</u> καὶ <u>φωτὸς αἰδίου</u>, <u>ποιητὴν πάντων κτισμάτων</u> <u>ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων</u>, <u>συνέχοντά τε πάντα καὶ συντηροῦντα</u>, <u>πάντων προνοούμενον, κρατοῦντά τε</u> <u>πάντων καὶ βασιλεύοντα</u>.</p>	<p>Πιστεύομεν τοιγαροῦν εἰς ἓνα θεόν, μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀναρχον, <u>ἄκτιστον</u>, ἀγέννητον ἀνόλεθρόν τε <u>καὶ ἀθάνατον, αἰώνιον, ἄπειρον</u>, ἀπερίγραφτον, <u>ἀπεριόριστον</u>, ἀπειροδύναμον, ἀπλῆν, ἀσύνθετον, <u>ἄσώματον</u>, ἄρρευστον, <u>ἀπαθῆ, ἄτρεπτον</u>, <u>ἀναλλοίωτον, ἄορατον, πηγὴν ἀγαθότητος</u> καὶ δικαιοσύνης, <u>φῶς νοερόν</u>, ἀπρόσιτον, δύναμιν οὐδενὶ μέτρῳ γνωριζομένην, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ οἰκείῳ βουλήματι μετρομένην – πάντα γάρ, ὅσα θέλει, δύναται –, <u>πάντων κτισμάτων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητικὴν, πάντων συνεκτικὴν καὶ συντηρητικὴν</u>, <u>πάντων προνοητικὴν, πάντων κρατοῦσαν</u> καὶ ἄρχουσιν καὶ <u>βασιλεύουσιν</u>.</p>

We can see in this last parallel how the redactor of *B&I* chooses to leave out information in the quoted text. Therefore, from the whole of *B&I* we have only three examples⁷⁴² where the redactor inserts a very close copy of the text of John of Damascus. Even in these examples there are still some minor changes: theological changes, as well as small additions and omissions.

Next, we will look at how the redactor treats the texts of Symeon Metaphrastes.

ii) Symeon Metaphrastes

Throughout this study, Symeon Metaphrastes is named a number of times as a possible source: how often do Volk's suggested uses of Symeon Metaphrastes' works correlate to portions of his text being copied, and not changed in any way?⁷⁴³ We begin with two examples from chapter 2 and one example from chapter 21 of *B&I*:

⁷⁴² Between chapter 15 of *B&I* and chapter 36 of *Expositio Fidei*; chapter 19 of *B&I* and chapter 2 of *Expositio Fidei*; chapter 19 of *B&I* and chapter 86 of *Expositio Fidei*.

⁷⁴³ R. Volk 'Das Fortwirken der Legende von Barlaam und Ioasaph' (2003): 137-47. Followed by a discussion of some of the parallels highlighted, see *ibid.* 147-68.

<i>B&I Chapter 2</i>	<i>Martyrium SS. Sergii et Bacchi 6.23 – 44</i>
<p><u>Ἐπει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν καλῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀφελέσθαι ἐφιλονείκησας ἡμῶν, τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν, ζημιῶσαι τὴν ἐσχάτην ταύτην ζημίαν ἡμᾶς ἡβουλήθης,</u></p> <p><u>τιμῶν τε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀναμιμνήσκεις, πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχειν σε τοῦ καλοῦ δικαίως ἂν εἴποιμι, ὅτι καὶ παραβάλλεις ὅλως αὐτὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα,</u></p> <p><u>εὐσέβειάν φημι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ φιλίαν ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δόξαν τὴν ἴσα παραρρέουσιν ὕδατι; Πῶς δέ σοι καὶ κοινωνοὶ ἐσόμεθα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦναντίον, καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ στοργὴν τέκνων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο μεῖζον ἦν ἀρνησόμεθα, ὁρῶντές σε μᾶλλον, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ἀγνωμονοῦντα πρὸς τὸν θεόν,</u></p> <p><u>τὸν καὶ αὐτό σοι τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἀναπνεῖν παρεχόμενον; Ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ κύριος τῶν πάντων, ὃς – ἀναρχος τε ὢν καὶ συναΐδιος τῷ πατρὶ –</u></p> <p><u>καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποστήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τε χερσὶν οἰκείαις ἐδημιούργησε καὶ ἀθανασία τοῦτον ἐτίμησε καὶ βασιλέα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κατεστήσατο, καθάπερ τινὰ βασιλεία τὸ κάλλιστον αὐτῷ πάντων ἀποτάξας, τὸν παράδεισον.</u></p>	<p><u>Ἐπει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τῶν καλῶν τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀφελέσθαι φιλονείκεῖς ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἀσέβειαν, καὶ Θεὸν ζημιῶσαι τὴν ἐσχάτην ταύτην ζημίαν</u></p> <p><u>καὶ ἦν οὐδὲ ὑπενεγκεῖν ἂν εὐσεβὴς ψυχὴ δύναιτο, τιμῶν τε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀναμιμνήσκεις, πῶς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχειν σε τοῦ καλοῦ δικαίως ἂν εἴποιμεν· ὅτι καὶ παραβάλλεις ὅλως αὐτὰ προσάλληλα καὶ οἶνει τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμῖν τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐποτρέπεις, ἀσεβείας φαμέν, τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ φιλίας ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ δόξης τῆς ἴσα παραρρεούσης ὕδατι; Πῶς δέ σοι καὶ κοινωνήσομεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦναντίον καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ</u></p> <p><u>εἴ τι ἄλλο μεῖζον ἦν, ἀρνησόμεθα; Πῶς δὲ οὐ σὺ μᾶλλον ἀγνωμονῶν τά γε πρὸς Θεόν, ἀλίσκη τὸν καὶ αὐτό σοι τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἀναπνεῖν παρεχόμενον,</u></p> <p><u>ὃς ἀναρχος ὢν καὶ συναΐδιος τῷ γεγεννηκότι, καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποστήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τε χερσὶν οἰκείαις ἐδημιούργησε καὶ ἀθανασία τοῦτον ἐτίμησε, καὶ, βασιλέα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κατεστήσατο, καθάπερ τινὰ βασιλεία τὸ κάλλιστον πάντων ἀποτάξας αὐτῷ τὸν παράδεισον.</u></p>

<i>B&I Chapter 2</i>	<i>Martyrium SS. Sergii et Bacchi 7.4-18</i>
<p>Ὁ δέ φθόνῳ κλαπεῖς καὶ ἡδονῇ, φεῦ μοι, δελεασθεὶς ἀθλίως τούτων ἐξέπεσε πάντων· καὶ ὁ πρὶν ζηλωτὸς ἐλεεινὸς ὤρᾳτο καὶ δακρύων διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἄξιος. Ὁ πλάσας τοίνυν ἡμᾶς καὶ δημιουργήσας φιланθρώποις πάλιν ἰδὼν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων χειρῶν ἔργον – τὸ θεὸς εἶναι μὴ μεταβαλόν, ὅπερ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς – ἐγένετο δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναμαρτήτως ὅπερ ἡμεῖς, καὶ σταυρὸν ἐκουσίως καὶ θάνατον ὑπομείνας τὸν ἄνωθεν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει βασκαίνοντα κατέβαλε πολέμιον, καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς πικρᾶς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν προτέραν ἀπέδωκε φιλαγάθως ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ὅθεν διὰ τὴν παρακοὴν ἐκπεπτώκαμεν, ἐκεῖ πάλιν διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμᾶς ἐπανήγαγε.</p>	<p>Ὁ δέ φθόνῳ κλαπεῖς καὶ ἡδονῇ (φεῦ μοι), δελεασθεὶς ἀθλίως τούτων ἐξέπεσε πάντων· καὶ ὁ πρὶν ζηλωτὸς ἐλεεινὸς ὤρᾳτο καὶ δακρύων διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἄξιος. Ὁ πλάσας τοίνυν ἡμᾶς καὶ δημιουργήσας ἡμᾶς Θεὸς, φιланθρώποις πάλιν ἰδὼν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων χειρῶν ἔργον τὸ Θεὸς εἶναι μὴ μεταβαλόν ὅπερ ἦν, ἐγένετο δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναμαρτήτως ὅπερ ἡμεῖς. Καὶ σταυρὸν ἐκουσίως καὶ θάνατον ὑπομείνας τὸν ἄνωθεν τε τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γένει καταβεβλήκει πολέμιον, καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς πικρᾶς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνασωσάμενος, καὶ ὅθεν διὰ τὴν παρακοὴν ἐκπεπτώκαμεν, ἐκεῖ πάλιν διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμᾶς ἐπανήγαγε.</p>

<i>B&I Chapter 21</i>	<i>Vita S. Gregorii Illuminatoris 10</i>
<p>Πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου διάπλασιν ἀνεμίμησκε, τὴν τε δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐντολὴν καὶ τὴν ταύτης παράβασιν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τοῦ πλάσαντος καταδίκην. Εἶτα καθεξῆς τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπηριθμεῖτο, ὧν ἀθετήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεκλείσαμεν· καὶ αὖθις ἐμέμνητο τῶν λυπηρῶν, ὅσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποτυχίαν κατέλαβεν ἀθλίως ἡμᾶς. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐπῆγεν, ὅπως τῆς ἡμετέρας φροντίζων ὁ δημιουργὸς σωτηρίας διδασκάλους ἀπέστειλε καὶ προφήτας τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς κηρύττοντας σάρκωσιν· ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον, τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν, τὰς εὐεργεσίας, τὰ θαύματα, τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀχαρίστων παθήματα, τὸν σταυρόν, τὴν λόγχην, τὸν ἐκούσιον θάνατον· τέλος τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἡμῶν, τὴν ἀνάκλησιν, τὴν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν ἐπάνοδον· μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐκδεχομένην τοὺς ἀξίους τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, τὴν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς φαύλοις βάσανον, τὸ μὴ σβεννύμενον πῦρ, τὸ μὴ λῆγον σκότος, τὸν ἀθάνατον σκώληκα, καὶ ὅσῃν ἄλλῃν κόλασιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐθησαύρισαν οἱ τῆς ἁμαρτίας δοῦλοι.</p>	<p>ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον κατὰκτιζέτο, διὰ τὴν παράβασιν, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τοῦ πλάσαντος καταδίκην. Εἶθ' ἐξῆς, τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπηριθμεῖτο, ὧν ἀθετήσαντες τὴν ἐντολὴν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεκλείσαμεν, καὶ αὖθις ἐμέμνητο τῶν λυπηρῶν, ὅσα μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀποτυχίαν, οἱ μοι κατέλαβεν ἀθλίως ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἐπῆγεν, ὅπως τῆς ἡμετέρας φροντίζων ὁ Δημιουργὸς σωτηρίας, διδασκάλους ἡμῖν ἀπέστειλε καὶ προφήτας τὴν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς κηρύττοντας σάρκωσιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον</p> <p>καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀχαρίστων παθήματα, τὰ ῥαπίσματα, τὸν σταυρόν, τὴν λόγχην, τὸν ἐκούσιον θάνατον, τέλος τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἡμῶν, τὴν ἀνάκλησιν, τὴν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν ἐπάνοδον μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐκδεχομένην τοὺς ἀξίους τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, τὴν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς φαύλοις μὴ σβεννύμενον πῦρ, τὸ μὴ λῆγον σκότος, τὸν ἀθάνατον σκώληκα, καὶ ὅσῃν ἄλλῃν οἱ τῆς ἁμαρτίας δοῦλοι κόλασιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐθησαύρισαν.</p>

In all three comparisons, the redactor of *B&I* has added more text than he has removed; nevertheless, he has altered the original. The second is one of the closer comparisons, where the redactor has made few alterations to the inserted text. We find, however, that the redactor is more often willing to change the inserted text:

<i>B&I Chapter 24</i>	<i>Vita S. Clementis Ancyranī</i> 16. 6 – 8, 11 – 15
<p>Ἀλλά γε νῦν, φίλτατε υἱέ, εἴ τί μοι πείθῃ τῷ σῷ πατρί, μακρὰ τοῖς μακροῖς τούτοις καὶ μακροῖς λήροις εἰπὼν χαίρειν, θῦσον προσελθὼν τοῖς εὐμενέσι θεοῖς. Ἐκατόμβαις τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σπονδαῖς ἐκμειλιζώμεθα, ἵνα συγγνώμην σοι τοῦ πταισματος παράσχοιντο· δυνατοὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἰσχύοντες εὐεργετεῖν τε καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι. <u>Καὶ σοι παράδειγμα τῶν</u> <u>λεγομένων ἡμεῖς οἱ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς ταύτην</u> <u>τὴν ἀρχὴν προελθόντες καὶ χάριτας αὐτοῖς</u> <u>τῆς εὐεργεσίας, τὰς τε πρὸς τοὺς</u> <u>σεβομένους τιμὰς καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς μὴ</u> <u>πειθομένους αὐτοῖς θύειν κολάσεις</u> <u>παρέχοντες.</u></p>	<p>ἀλλά <u>εἴ τί μοι πείθῃ,</u> <u>μακρὰ τοῖς μακροῖς τούτοις</u> <u>λήροις χαίρειν εἰπὼν, θῦσον</u> <u>προσελθὼν τοῖς εὐμενέσι θεοῖς, [...]</u></p> <p><u>Καὶ σοι παράδειγμα τῶν</u> <u>λεγομένων ἡμεῖς, οἱ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς ταύτην</u> <u>τὴν ἀρχὴν προελθόντες, καὶ χάριτας αὐτοῖς</u> <u>τῆς εὐεργεσίας, τὰς τε πρὸς τοὺς</u> <u>σεβομένους τιμὰς, καὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς μὴ</u> <u>πειθομένους αὐτοῖ; θύειν κολάσεις</u> <u>παρέχοντες.</u></p>

Here the redactor changes the passage from Symeon Metaphrastes in order to produce a similar context to the external text into which it is inserted. He does so by adding references to the father and son (king Abennes and Ioasaph), as well as a short discourse on the king encouraging Ioasaph to make a drink offering to the gods for his wrongdoing, because the gods are strong enough to bless and to punish. He does something similar in the following passage, changing the inserted Symeon Metaphrastes text, to produce a similar context to that of *B&I*:

<i>B&I Chapter 28</i>	<i>Vita et Martyrium S. Polyeucti 7.7 – 18</i>
<p>Ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως υἱός, εὐθὺς <u>διανίσταται</u> καὶ θερμότερος τὴν ψυχὴν γίνεται. <u>Καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τοῦ Ναχώρ, πρὸς ἀπόγνωσιν συγκύπτοντα, ἀναλαμβάνειν ἄρχεται καὶ στερρότερον περὶ τὴν Χριστοῦ πίστιν διατιθέναι, λέγων αὐτῷ τοιαῦδε· >Μηδεὶς ἔστω σοι, ὦ Ναχώρ, περὶ τοῦτου δισταγμός. Γέγραπται γὰρ δυνατόν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ· ὅπερ τί ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ πατήρ ἔφη Βαρλαάμ, τὸ ἐξ ἀνελπίστων καὶ πάσαις καταχρανθέντων ἀνομίαις δύνασθαι σωθῆναι καὶ δούλους γενέσθαι Χριστοῦ, ὃς δι' ἄκραν φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερβολὴν <u>πᾶσι</u> τοῖς ἐπιστρέφουσι <u>τὰς οὐρανίους ἡνοῖξε πύλας, οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἀποκλείσας εἴσοδον.</u></u></p>	<p>Ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ Νέαρχος, εὐθὺς τε <u>διανίσταται, καὶ τὸν φίλον ἀναλαμβάνειν ἄρχεται, καὶ προθυμότερον περὶ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστιν διατιθέναι· μηδεὶς, ὦ φίλατε, λέγων, μηδεὶς ἔστω σοι περὶ τοῦτου δισταγμός· γέγραπται γὰρ δυνατόν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ. Ὅπερ τί ἄλλο ἢ τοῦτό ἐστι, τὸ ἐξ ἀνελπίστων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν δύνασθαι σωθῆναι, καὶ στρατιῶται καταστήναι Χριστοῦ; ἐπεὶ καὶ <u>πᾶσιν</u> ἀπλῶ; ἢ <u>τῆς οὐρανίους ἡνοικται πύλη</u> οὐδενὶ <u>τῶν πάντων</u> ἢ <u>τῆς σωτηρίας ἀποκέκλείσται εἴσοδος.</u></u></p>

The majority of these differences are names that have been added by the redactor of *B&I*. The redactor tries to maintain the text of Symeon Metaphrastes, only removing phrases that do not fit into the context of the novel. For the redactor to do this is quite unusual: we have seen how he skips parts of an inserted text, or inserts words or phrases of his own (if the redactor was Symeon Metaphrastes) into the novel with no obvious reason why. This is noticeable in the following comparison:

<i>B&I Chapter 32</i>	<i>Martyrium S. Catharinæ 4.19 – 30</i>
<p>Κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ὁ <u>Σερούχ ἐκεῖνος</u> <u>ιστόρηται τὰ τῶν</u> <u>ἀγαλμάτων ἐξευρεῖν. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς</u> <u>πάλαι χρόνοις ἢ ἀνδρείας ἢ φιλίας εἶτε</u> <u>τινὸς ἐτέρας ἀνδραγαθίας ἔργον μνήμης</u> <u>ἄξιον ἐπιδειξαμένους ἀνδριᾶσι</u> <u>λέγεται καὶ στήλαις τιμῆσαι. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ</u> <u>ταῦτα, τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀγνοήσαντες</u> <u>γνώμην, καὶ ὅτι μνήμης ἔνεκα μόνον</u> <u>τοῖς ἐπαινετόν τι</u> <u>ποιήσασιν ἀνδριάντας</u> <u>καὶ στήλας ἀνέστησαν,</u> κατὰ μικρὸν <u>πλανώμενοι τῇ τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου δαίμονος</u> <u>ἐνεργείᾳ, ὡς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς τοῖς</u> <u>ὁμοιοπαθέσι καὶ φθαρτοῖς ἀνθρώποις</u> <u>προσετέθησαν, καὶ θυσίας αὐτοῖς</u> <u>καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπενοήσαντο.</u></p>	<p><u>Σερούχ ἐκεῖνον</u> ἔφησε <u>πρῶτον τὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ</u> <u>ἐκευρεῖν. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς</u> <u>πάλαι χρόνοις ἢ ἀνδρείας ἢ φιλίας, εἶτε</u> <u>τινὸς ἐτέρας ἀρετῆς ἔργον μνήμης</u> <u>ἄξιον καὶ σπουδῆς ἐπιδειξαμένους ἀνδριᾶσι</u> <u>λέγεται καὶ στήλαις τιμῆσαι. Οἱ δὲ μετὰ</u> <u>ταῦτα, τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀγνοήσαντες</u> <u>γνώμην, καὶ ὅτι μνήμης ἔνεκα μόνον</u> <u>αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπαινετόν τι πρᾶγμα</u> <u>πεποιηκότας, ἐτίμηαν, καὶ ἀνδριάντας</u> <u>αὐτοῖς καὶ στήλας ἀνέστησαν,</u> <u>ὡς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς τοῖς</u> <u>ὁμοιοπαθέσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φθαρτοῖς</u> <u>προσετέθησαν καὶ θυσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τιμὰς</u> <u>καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπενοήσαντο.</u></p>

Here,⁷⁴⁴ the redactor adds a reference to ‘demons’, whereas in the comparison between chapter 17 and John of Damascus’ *Expositio Fidei* 3, we have seen that he removed the reference to ‘demons’. There are other ways in which the redactor uses Symeon Metaphrastes’ works:⁷⁴⁵ sometimes he quotes a sentence (or a line) from one work, and then jumps to quote a sentence (or line) from another work (and continues to do this); while at other times he quotes a sentence (or line) from one chapter of one particular work and follows this with another sentence (or line) from a different chapter of the same work (and continues to do this). The redactor does this on a number of occasions.⁷⁴⁶ The same pattern recurs throughout *B&I*: the redactor will quote from or refer to one author (even if he jumps between texts, or chapters of a text) before moving on to a different author. When there are large sections of quoted text from one author this is what he will do; only infrequently will the redactor copy large sections of text into the novel.⁷⁴⁷ Here we must ask: if Symeon Metaphrastes is the redactor of *B&I*, why then, when he quotes his own texts, does he try to improve upon the original?

⁷⁴⁴ It has been suggested that the *Acts of Catherine* contain fragments of a lost Christian Apology which is by the hand of the redactor of *B&I*. This thesis remains unproven. See J. A. Robinson, ‘Passion of St. Catherine’ (1923-4): 246-53.

⁷⁴⁵ See *B&I* 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 39, 40.

⁷⁴⁶ See the above noted chapters.

⁷⁴⁷ This is the reason why there are so few comparisons which we have discussed: the redactor of *B&I* rarely inserts large sections of text.

iii) The Bible

We have seen in chapter 2.D.iii of this thesis how the redactor of *B&I* treats the Bible. In some cases he quotes Bible passages verbatim: for example in *B&I* chapter 6, the parable of the sower is almost word for word as it is in *Matthew*. In another case, as we have seen, the redactor paraphrases the content of *Luke*, but quotes some parts of it (the parable of the lost sheep, and the parable of the prodigal son). Finally, we have seen how in *B&I* chapter 9, the redactor quotes – in part – 1 *Corinthians* 15. How else does the redactor of *B&I* use the Bible?

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 9	<i>Matthew</i> 25:31-6
<p>Καὶ πάλιν λέγει· Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ συναχθήσονται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἀφοριεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὥσπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἀφορίζει τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίφων, καὶ στήσει τὰ μὲν πρόβατα ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐρίφια ἐξ εὐωνύμων. Τότε ἐρεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· >Δεῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με, ξένος ἦμην καὶ συνηγάγετέ με, γυμνὸς καὶ περιεβάλετέ με, ἡσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἦμην καὶ ἤλθετε πρὸς με.<</p>	<p>Ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, τότε καθίσει ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ· καὶ συναχθήσονται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἀφοριεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὥσπερ ὁ ποιμὴν ἀφορίζει τὰ πρόβατα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίφων, καὶ στήσει τὰ μὲν πρόβατα ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ ἐρίφια ἐξ εὐωνύμων. τότε ἐρεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, Δεῦτε, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν, ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με, ξένος ἦμην καὶ συνηγάγετέ με, γυμνὸς καὶ περιεβάλετέ με, ἡσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἦμην καὶ ἤλθετε πρὸς με.</p>

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 9	<i>Hebrews</i> 4:12-3
<p>Ζῶν γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργὴς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον καὶ διϊκνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς τε καὶ πνεύματος, ἁρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχλισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος.</p>	<p>Ζῶν γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργὴς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον καὶ διϊκνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος, ἁρμῶν τε καὶ μυελῶν, καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, πάντα δὲ γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχλισμένα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος.</p>

Compared to other examples we have looked at in this study, these two quotes from the Bible are relatively short. Here, the redactor of *B&I* does not change the inserted biblical verses, or at least, any changes he does make are small, as if he did not want to corrupt the Bible. However, is this true throughout *B&I*?

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 11	<i>Galatians</i> 5:16, 19-23
<p>Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος· Ἐν πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. Φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς, ἅτινά ἐστι μοιχεία, πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρεις, ζῆλοι, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις, φθόνοι, φιλαργυρίαι, λοιδορίαι, φιληδονίαι, μέθαι, κῶμοι, ὑπερηφανίαι καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. Ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη, χαρά, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραότης, ἐγκράτεια.</p>	<p>Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. [...] φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς, ἅτινά ἐστιν πορνεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρία, φαρμακεία, ἔχθραι, ἔρις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθεῖαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις, φθόνοι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ προλέγω ὑμῖν καθὼς προεῖπον ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. Ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἀγάπη, χαρά, εἰρήνη, μακροθυμία, χρηστότης, ἀγαθωσύνη, πίστις, πραῦτης, ἐγκράτεια· κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος.</p>

Here the redactor adds further ideas of ‘works against the flesh’, which are not contained in the *Galatians* passage. This is not wholly unsurprising given the nature and content of *B&I*.⁷⁴⁸

The following passage from *Matthew* is an example of how the redactor will jump between chapters of a text he inserts:

⁷⁴⁸ We reflect back to the original version of *B&I*, *The Life of Buddha*, and how Buddhists deny fleshly desires. Similar traits and ideas can be located in *B&I* because hermits, like Barlaam, also deny fleshly desires.

B&I Chapter 11	Matthew 5:34, 37-42, 44-5, (Luke 6:37) 6:14, 19, 21, 25, 32, 26, 28, 33-4, 7:12-4, 21, 10:37-8
<p>Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ νόμου τὴν ἐπιτοκίαν κωλύοντος ὁ Χριστὸς οὐδὲ ὅλως ὁμνύειν πλὴν τοῦ ναὶ καὶ τοῦ οὐ ἐνετείλατο.</p> <p><u>Ὁφθαλμὸν</u> <u>ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος</u> ἐκεῖ, ἐνταῦθα δέ·</p> <p><u>Ὅστις σε ῥαπίσει ἐπὶ τὴν</u> <u>δεξιὰν σιαγόνα,</u> <u>στρέψον αὐτῷ,</u> φησί, <u>καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι</u> <u>καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ</u> <u>τὸ ἱμάτιον· καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον</u> <u>ἕν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε</u> <u>δίδου, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ</u> <u>δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.</u></p> <p><u>Ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν,</u> εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς <u>καὶ</u> <u>προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς</u> <u>καὶ διωκόντων, ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ</u> <u>πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν</u> <u>ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ</u> <u>ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ</u> <u>ἀδίκους. Μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ</u> <u>κριθῆτε·</u></p> <p><u>ἄφετε,</u></p> <p><u>καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν.</u></p> <p><u>Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ</u> <u>τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ</u> <u>ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ</u> <u>κλέπτουσιν· ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυρὸς</u> <u>ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν.</u></p> <p><u>Μὴ</u> <u>μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε καὶ τί</u> <u>πίητε, μήτε τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί</u> <u>ἐνδύσθητε·</u></p>	<p>ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως· μήτε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅτι θρόνος ἐστὶν τοῦ θεοῦ·</p> <p>[...] ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν ναὶ ναί, οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν. Ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη, <u>Ὁφθαλμὸν</u> <u>ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος.</u> ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ· ἀλλ' <u>ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν</u> <u>δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου], στρέψον αὐτῷ</u> <u>καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι</u> <u>καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ</u> <u>τὸ ἱμάτιον· καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον</u> <u>ἕν, ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε</u> <u>δίδου, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ</u> <u>δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς[...]</u> ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, <u>ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν</u></p> <p><u>καὶ</u></p> <p><u>προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν</u> <u>διωκόντων ὑμᾶς, ὅπως γένησθε υἱοὶ τοῦ</u> <u>πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι τὸν</u> <u>ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ</u> <u>ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ</u> <u>ἀδίκους. [...]</u> (Καὶ μὴ κρίνετε, <u>καὶ οὐ μὴ</u> <u>κριθῆτε· καὶ μὴ καταδικάζετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ</u> <u>καταδικασθῆτε. ἀπολύετε, καὶ</u> <u>ἀπολυθήσεσθε· [...]</u>) Ἐὰν γὰρ <u>ἀφῆτε τοῖς</u> <u>ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν,</u> <u>ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος·</u> <u>[...] Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ</u> <u>τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ</u> <u>ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ</u> <u>κλέπτουσιν· [...]</u> <u>ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ</u> <u>θησαυρὸς σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδίᾳ</u> <u>σου. [...]</u> Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, μὴ <u>μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε [ἢ τί</u> <u>πίητε,] μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί</u> <u>ἐνδύσθητε· οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖον</u></p>

B&I Chapter 11	Matthew 5:34, 37-42, 44-5, (Luke 6:37) 6:14, 19, 21, 25, 32, 26, 28, 33-4, 7:12-4, 21, 10:37-8
<p>οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι <u>χρηζέτε τούτων ἀπάντων</u>. Ὁ οὖν τὴν ψυχὴν δοὺς καὶ τὸ σῶμα δώσει πάντως καὶ <u>τροφὴν</u> καὶ ἔνδυμα, ὁ <u>τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τρέφων</u></p> <p><u>καὶ</u> <u>τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ</u> τοιαύτη κοσμῶν ὠραιότητι.</p> <p><u>Ζητεῖτε δέ, φησί, πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. Μὴ μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον· ἡ γὰρ αὔριον τὰ ἐαυτῆς μεριμνήσει.</u></p> <p><u>Πάντα ὅσα ἂν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς.</u></p> <p><u>Εἰσελθετε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς· τί στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσιν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν. Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι >κύριε, κύριε< εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.</u></p> <p><u>Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος, καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος· καὶ ὅς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος.</u></p>	<p>ἐστὶν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος; [...] πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν· οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι <u>χρηζέτε τούτων ἀπάντων</u>. [...]</p> <p><u>ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ</u> ὅτι οὐ σπεύρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος <u>τρέφει αὐτά· οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν; [...]</u> <u>καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε; καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ</u> πῶς αὐξάνουσιν· οὐ κοπιῶσιν οὐδὲ νήθουσιν· [...] <u>ζητεῖτε δέ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν [τοῦ θεοῦ] καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν. μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον, ἡ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει ἐαυτῆς· ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς. [...]</u> <u>Πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται. Εἰσελθατε διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης· ὅτι πλατεῖα ἡ πύλη καὶ εὐρύχωρος ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσιν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι δι' αὐτῆς· τί στενὴ ἡ πύλη καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσιν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν. Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. [...]</u> <u>Ὁ φιλῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος· καὶ ὁ φιλῶν υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ ἐμέ οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος· καὶ ὅς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος.</u></p>

This comparison could be described as a fairly ‘tame’ example⁷⁴⁹ of how the redactor moves through the chapters of *Matthew* and inserts small phrases or whole verses.

⁷⁴⁹ By this we refer to other examples (some of which are highlighted below) where the redactor jumps from chapter h, to chapter a, to chapter y, to chapter b, to chapter i.

There are similar examples, but these are not continuous,⁷⁵⁰ and are not worth discussing⁷⁵¹ because the order of the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* is the same as the Armenian, Syriac and Greek fragment versions.⁷⁵² Further close comparison between *B&I* and the Bible can also be located:

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 20	1 Peter 1:17-9
Εἰ πατέρα, φησίν, ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον, ἐν φόβῳ τὸν τῆς παροικίας ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαράδοτου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἄμνοῦ ἁμώμου καὶ ἁσπίλου Χριστοῦ.	Καὶ εἰ πατέρα ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸν ἀπροσωπολήπτως κρίνοντα κατὰ τὸ ἐκάστου ἔργον, ἐν φόβῳ τὸν τῆς παροικίας ὑμῶν χρόνον ἀναστράφητε, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαράδοτου, ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἄμνοῦ ἁμώμου καὶ ἁσπίλου Χριστοῦ

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 32	<i>Psalms</i> 101:25-7	<i>Hebrews</i> 1:10-2
Καὶ αὖθις ὁ ψαλμοδός φησι· Κατ' ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί· αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς, καὶ ἀλλαγῇσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι.	Κατ' ἀρχάς τὴν γῆν σὺ Κύριε ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί. Αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις· καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς, καὶ ἀλλαγῇσονται. Σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι·	καί, Σὺ κατ' ἀρχάς, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί· αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμένεις· καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἐλίξεις αὐτούς, καὶ ἀλλαγῇσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι.

In these shorter comparisons, the redactor of *B&I* has copied the Bible word for word. The only difference is that in the second comparison, the redactor has used *Hebrews* as

⁷⁵⁰ By this we refer to the above, of how the redactor will jump between different chapters and/or verses.

⁷⁵¹ For example, in chapter 9, the redactor of *B&I* quotes a number of passages from *Isaiah*: in order of use 66:22-4, 34:4, 13:9-11, 5:18, 5:20, 5:22-3, 10:2-4, 5:24. This is followed by the redactor referring to parts of the *Wisdom of Solomon* 1. In chapter 10, the redactor refers to *Isaiah* 51:11, 58:8-9, 43:25-6, 1:18, 1:20. In chapter 11, he quotes small sections of *Galatians* 5 (verses 16, 19-23. There is however little lexical similarity between *Galatians* and *B&I*). Chapter 17 refers to the *Wisdom of Solomon* (11:15-18, 20, 21-3, 24, 26). Chapter 23 refers to 4 *Maccabees* 5. Chapter 32 quotes small passages from *Ezekiel* (33:11, 12, 14-6). Chapter 40 quotes a number of *Psalms* (26: 9-12, 21:11-12, 142:8, 10).

⁷⁵² There is one exception which is discussed at the end of this chapter.

his source and not *Psalms*.⁷⁵³ This is evident in the opening line of comparison between the three texts.

The redactor of *B&I* quotes from very many texts besides the Bible and those authored by John of Damascus and Symeon Metaphrastes. Does he similarly quote at length from other authors, or does he insert only small sections of their texts?

iv) Other external sources

The redactor of *B&I* inserts quotes from a number of other church fathers. First of all, he frequently draws on the work of Gregory Nazianzenus, although on only a few occasions are his *Orationes* quoted at length:

<i>B&I</i> Chapter 15	<i>Orationes</i> 19.4
<p>Υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἕως πότε βαρυκάρδιοι; <u>Ἵνα τί ἀγαπᾶτε ματαιότητα καὶ ζητεῖτε</u> <u>ψεῦδος</u>; Ὡς περ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων σοφῶν διδασκάλων θεολογικώτατος τις ἀνὴρ συνάδων τῷ αὐτῷ προφήτῃ καὶ τινα παρ' ἑαυτῷ προστιθεὶς ἐμβοᾷ πᾶσιν ὡς ἐξ ἀπόπτου τινὸς καὶ ὑψηλοτάτης περιωπῆς· Υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἕως πότε βαρυκάρδιοι;</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Ἵνα τί ἀγαπᾶτε</u> <u>ματαιότητα καὶ ζητεῖτε</u> <u>ψεῦδος</u>, μέγα τι τὸν</p> <p><u>ἐνταῦθα βίον καὶ τὴν τρυφήν καὶ τὸ</u> <u>μικρὸν δοξάριον καὶ τὴν ταπεινὴν</u> <u>δυναστείαν καὶ τὴν ψευδομένην εὐημερίαν</u> <u>ὑπολαμβάνοντες</u>; Ἄ μὴ τῶν ἐχόντων <u>μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν ἐλπισάντων, οὐδὲ</u> <u>τούτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν οὐδὲ</u> <u>προσδοκησάντων</u>· ὥς περ χοῦς ὑπὸ <u>λαίλαπος ἄλλοτε εἰς ἄλλους ῥιπιζόμενα καὶ</u> <u>μεταρριπτούμενα ἢ ὥς περ καπνὸς</u> <u>διαρρέοντα καὶ ὡς ὄναρ παίζοντα καὶ ὡς</u> <u>σκιά μὴ κρατούμενα, οὔτε ἀπόντα</u> <u>δυσέλπιστα τοῖς οὐ κεκτημένοις, οὔτε</u> <u>παρόντα πιστὰ τοῖς ἔχουσιν.</u></p>	<p>Υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἕως πότε βαρυκάρδιοι, (προοιμιάσομαι γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ μεγαλοφονοτάτου Δαβίδ); <u>Ἵνα τί ἀγαπᾶτε</u> <u>ματαιότητα καὶ ζητεῖτε</u> <u>ψεῦδος</u>, μέγα τι τὸν</p> <p><u>ἐνταῦθα βίον, καὶ τὴν τρυφήν, καὶ τὸ</u> <u>μικρὸν δοξάριον, καὶ τὴν ταπεινὴν</u> <u>δυναστείαν, καὶ τὴν ψευδομένην εὐημερίαν</u> <u>ὑπολαμβάνοντες</u>; Ἄ μὴ τῶν ἐχόντων <u>μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν ἐλπισάντων, οὐδὲ</u> <u>τούτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν οὐδὲ</u> <u>προσδοκησάντων</u>· ὥς περ χοῦς ὑπὸ <u>λαίλαπος ἄλλοτε εἰς ἄλλους ῥιπιζόμενα τε</u> <u>καὶ μεταρριπτούμενα ἢ ὥς περ καπνὸς</u> <u>διαρρέοντα, καὶ ὡς ὄναρ παίζοντα, καὶ ὡς</u> <u>σκιά μὴ κρατούμενα· οὔτε ἀπόντα</u> <u>δυσέλπιστα τοῖς οὐ κεκτημένοις, οὔτε</u> <u>παρόντα πιστὰ τοῖς ἔχουσιν.</u></p>

⁷⁵³ The redactor has dropped the use of σὺ which is used in the opening sentence of both *Psalms* and *Hebrews*.

<i>B&I Chapter 19</i>	<i>Orationes 40.45.16-20</i>
Πίστεψε μὴ οὐσίαν τινὰ εἶναι τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ βασιλείαν, μηδὲ ἄναρχον αὐτήν ὑπολάμβανε ἢ παρ' ἐαυτῆς ὑποστᾶσαν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην – ἅπαγε τῆς ἀτοπίας –, ἀλλ' ἡμέτερον ἔργον τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπροσεξίας ἐπεισελθὼν ἡμῖν [...]	Πίστεψε, μὴ οὐσίαν εἶναι τινὰ τοῦ κακοῦ, μήτε βασιλείαν, ἢ ἄναρχον, ἢ παρ' ἐαυτῆς ὑποστᾶσαν, ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένην, ἀλλ' ἡμέτερον ἔργον εἶναι τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, ἐκ τῆς ἀπροσεξίας ἐπεισελθὼν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ κτίσαντος.

In the first comparison we can see the extent to which the redactor copies from the nineteenth oration of Gregory Nazianzenus. He not only copies the church father, but also repeats the opening phrase.⁷⁵⁴ The second comparison, between *B&I* chapter 19 and *Orationes* chapter 40 is fairly similar: the redactor makes only stylistic additions.⁷⁵⁵ The only theological difference is the replacement of πονηροῦ ('of evil') with διαβόλου ('of demon'). This theological difference is not surprising considering how often the redactor refers to διάβολος in *B&I*.⁷⁵⁶

Another church father whose texts are used a number of times is John Chrysostom:

<i>B&I Chapter 20</i>	<i>De Anna 4.5</i>
Ὁ γὰρ διαθερμάνας αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, καθάπερ τις τῶν ἁγίων ἔφησε, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναστήσας καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐαυτὸν μετοικήσας καὶ οὕτω τὸν δεσπότην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καλέσας, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτημάτων ἀναμνησθεὶς καὶ περὶ τῆς συγχωρήσεως τούτων διαλεχθεὶς, καὶ δάκρυσι θερμοτάτοις δεηθεὶς ἵλεω γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τὸν φιλόανθρωπον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ διαλογισμοῖς τούτοις διατριβῆς πᾶσαν ἀποτίθεται βιωτικὴν φροντίδα καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν ὑψηλότερος γίνεται.	Ὁ διαθερμάνας αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναστήσας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐαυτὸν μετοικίσας, καὶ οὕτω τὸν Δεσπότην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καλέσας, καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀναμνησθεὶς, καὶ περὶ τῆς συγχωρήσεως τούτων αὐτῷ διαλεχθεὶς, καὶ παρακαλέσας ἵλεων γενέσθαι καὶ ἡμερον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις διατριβῆς πᾶσαν ἀποτίθεται βιωτικὴν φροντίδα, καὶ πτεροῦται, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παθῶν ὑψηλότερος γίνεται.

⁷⁵⁴ Υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἕως πότε βαρυκάρδιοι; Ἵνα τί ἀγαπᾶτε ματαιότητα καὶ ζητεῖτε ψεῦδος (*B&I* 15)

⁷⁵⁵ For example ἅπαγε τῆς ἀτοπίας (*B&I* 19)

⁷⁵⁶ See chapter 2.D.v of this study. There are an additional two occasions where a long parallel between *B&I* and Gregory Nazianzenus' *Orationes* can be located: chapter 19 of *B&I* refers (but does not explicitly quote) to *Orationes* 40 and chapter 24 of *B&I* refers to *Orationes* 16, 19 and 14. There are other uses of Gregory Nazianzenus' texts, however no lengthy parallels may be drawn between *B&I* and these texts.

The surrounding text of chapter 20 of *B&I*, where this section from *De Anna* is inserted, contains quotes from a variety of works by John Chrysostom, none of which are more than a few lines long or compare in depth to the original work: although one can see where the redactor of *B&I* has inserted the work of John Chrysostom, he has reworked the inserted text. The redactor does this elsewhere in *B&I*: in chapter 17 he quotes lines⁷⁵⁷ from John Chrysostom's *Ad populum Antiochenum*; in chapter 25, he jumps between several of his works, quoting only small phrases or a sentence. Thus, with regard to the works of John Chrysostom, the redactor is willing to change the inserted text, or to refer only to short sections.

There are many other works to which the redactor of *B&I* refers. For example, a large section of text in chapter 6 of *B&I* refers to *Poema* of Thomas Sebastocrator, as well as the *Homiliae* of Pseudo Macarius. The redactor draws information from these two texts but does not quote either of them at any length.⁷⁵⁸ In chapter 15 of *B&I*, the redactor uses Nemeseus Emesenus' *De natura hominis*; however, although he refers to Nemeseus' work over a number of lines, he jumps from chapter to chapter quoting small sections of text. Similarly, in chapters 33 and 36 of *B&I* the redactor inserts small sections from Pope Agapetus' *Epistula Synodica*, and in chapter 37 he uses a number of short quotes from Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*.

We must note here that the structure of the Greek *B&I Apology* is not exactly parallel to that of the Syriac and Armenian. The biggest noticeable difference is that some of the content of chapter 2 in the Armenian and Syriac versions does not appear until chapters 14 and 15 of the Greek *B&I* version.⁷⁵⁹ This displacement could have been caused by the redactor of *B&I*, albeit we have seen that this is not too likely.⁷⁶⁰ From the way the redactor uses external sources, however, he could also here have jumped between verses, placing ideas he considers more appropriate later in the text: perhaps, he noticed that the *Apology* would flow better with the information on the Jews and Christians being placed in chapters 14 and 15 respectively, rather than in chapter 2. On the other hand, such speculation on the different ordering of the *Apology* is based on

⁷⁵⁷ 47-8, 49-51, 52, 54-5.

⁷⁵⁸ Similar to the conclusion drawn when we compared chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*.

⁷⁵⁹ See appendix 3.

⁷⁶⁰ This displacement could have equally been caused by a previous redactor of the Greek text. See the above discussion on 'Angels'.

the assumption that the Syriac represents the order of the *Vorlage* of *B&I* which is not certain, although underpinned in this case by the same order in the Armenian. There is no certainty to ascertain which of the two arrangements of the *Apology* relate to the earlier Greek version. Moreover, the Greek fragments do not provide parallels with neither chapter 2, nor chapter 14, nor the beginning of chapter 15. It would appear more consistent, however, with his practice of dealing with other external sources that the redactor of *B&I* moved the passage on the Jews of the end of chapter 2 and inserted this part into chapters 14 and 15 of the *Apology*, especially as the short description of the Jews and Christians from chapter 2 of the *Apology* now feels a little disjointed.

The evidence suggests that, for the most part, the redactor treats the Bible differently compared to other external sources. When quoting larger sections of text, he prefers to quote the Bible word for word, adding and removing very little, whereas with the work of the church fathers he often makes changes, preferring to add or remove sections of text. If the redactor has treated the *Apology* as he has treated the church fathers' works (which is more likely, given the great authority that the Bible had gained in the Middle Ages), it is possible that the differences between the Greek *B&I* version and the Syriac version of the *Apology* are due to changes the redactor has made: he has skipped some parts of the text he had in front of him, and inserted additional ideas. If this is the case, the extent of the changes the redactor has made to the *Vorlage* he has copied from is unknown. There is one piece of evidence that casts doubt on this scenario: the redactor has not changed important theological topics in chapter 15 of the *Apology*.⁷⁶¹ Further, we have seen how ideas that run throughout *B&I* have *not* been inserted into the *Apology*: there are a number of cases where the redactor had the opportunity to insert his own ideas (that is to say, he was not relying on an external source), but did not. Hence, it is possible that the redactor has attributed to the *Apology* a considerable authority and treated it with caution.

In the next chapter, we will look at how the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* compares to that in the Greek fragments.

⁷⁶¹ See the comparison between chapter 31 of *B&I* and the *Apology*: when discussing whether the Son is 'in' or 'with' the Father, the *Apology* uses ἐν and *B&I* uses σύν.

Chapter 3: Aristides' Apology and the Greek Papyri of the Apology

A) P.Oxyrhynchus and P.Heidelberg

The comparison between the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* and the Greek Papyri must be broken into two sections. First we look at the two fragments of P.Oxy and P.Heidel: these cover chapters 4.3 to 6.1 of the *Apology*. Then, we consider P.London and the *B&I* version of the *Apology*, covering chapters 15.6 to 16.1. The reason for this comparison has already been detailed;⁷⁶² however, it is necessary to explain why one cannot do the same for the first two chapters of the *Apology* (which covers the Armenian text). The Greek fragments are not only the earliest witness that are available to us, but they are also in Greek, and therefore provide us with good material to compare to the Greek *B&I*, even if we would not use it for a 'reconstruction of the original text of the *Apology of Aristides*'.⁷⁶³ The fragments allow for an analysis of the potential differences and commonalities between the fragments and the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*. Unfortunately, such depth of analysis is not possible for the first two chapters.⁷⁶⁴

A number of times in this study I have compared the Greek *B&I* version to the Syriac and Armenian versions, to assess whether we can determine similar content between them. However, we are dealing with translations (Syriac or Armenian) from Greek. This constraint, naturally, does not exist in the case of the Greek fragments, where it is possible to see the content omitted from the Greek *B&I* version, or indeed, what additions have been made to the Greek *B&I* version. Although an analysis such as this would prove useful, it would not help to isolate what the redactor of *B&I* has changed. If the Syriac and Armenian versions of the *Apology* shared the same parent text,⁷⁶⁵ there would be greater similarities between those versions; whereas an analysis

⁷⁶² See the Introduction to this study.

⁷⁶³ Pace C. Alpigiano, 'L'Apologia di Aristide' (1986): 337-54; K.-G. Essig, 'Erwägungen zum geschichtlichen Ort' (1986): 165; C. Vona, *L'Apologia* (1950): 8-9.

⁷⁶⁴ See E. Hennecke, 'Aristides-Apologie' (1893): 62 who analyses the first two chapters.

⁷⁶⁵ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 217.

between the Greek fragments and the Syriac⁷⁶⁶ would show greater differences. This were inevitable because, although B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre do suggest some similarity between the Syriac and Armenian texts,⁷⁶⁷ if, as they suggested, they shared the same parent. Let us assess the extent to which the redactor of *B&I* may have changed the *Apology* when he inserted it into the novel of *B&I*.⁷⁶⁸

	P.Oxy XV 1778 and P.Heidel inv. G 1013	Syriac	<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27
4.3	(around twenty-four lines missing) ἀ[ν]θρ[ώ]πων.	And from this we have <i>perceived</i> that <i>the earth is</i> <i>not God but</i> a creature of <i>God.</i>	Τούτων οὕτως ὄντων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὴν γῆν εἶναι θεάν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων.

⁷⁶⁶ See A. Neppi Modona, 'Aristide' (1922): 324-7 for a comparison between just P.Oxy and the Syriac *Apology*. Modona does not compare it to the Greek *B&I*. K.-G. Essig, 'Erwägungen zum geschichtlichen Ort' (1986): 173 compares P.Oxy and Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*. C. Wessley, 'Les plus anciens monuments' (1924): 500-2 compares the Greek *Apology* and P.London but does not compare it to the Syriac. Wessley concludes that the redactor of *B&I* has changed the *Apology* as the language of the Greek *Apology* is a lot similar in style to the Byzantine era. From the outset, Wessley has an agenda: we will discover that P.Oxy has more similarity to the Greek *B&I* than P.London does.

⁷⁶⁷ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 145.

⁷⁶⁸ We here follow D. Hagedorn, 'Ein neues Fragment' (2000): 42-3, instead of B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 294-6, who has restored the Greek fragments. This is because the work thus far produced by Pouderon and Pierre has been questionable. D. Hagedorn, 'Ein neues Fragment' (2000): 41 believes the two fragments of P.Oxy and P.Heidel come from the same codex.

	P.Oxy XV 1778 and P.Heidel inv. G 1013	Syriac	Apology according to B&I Chapter 27
5.1	<p>Οἱ δὲ] νομί[ζοντες τὸ ὕδωρ] εἶναι[θν ἐπλανήθη]σαν. τὸ γ[ὰρ ὕδωρ γέ]γονεν [εἰς χρῆσιν ἀν]θρώπων[ν καὶ κατακυ]ριεύετ[αι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.] μ[ε]ν[έ]ν[εται (naught to two lines missing – end of folio 1^v. Beginning of folio 1^r, six lines missing [...] [-----] μαιροῖς [...] around sixteen lines missing) καὶ φθει]</p>	<p>And in like manner again have those <i>erred</i> who have thought concerning <i>water</i> that it is <i>God</i>. For <i>water</i> was created for the use of <i>man</i> and in many ways it is made subject to him. For it is <i>changed</i>, and receives <i>defilement</i>, and is <i>corrupted</i>, and loses its own nature when cooked with many things, and receives colours which are not its own; being moreover <i>hardened</i> by the cold and mixed and mingled with the excrement of men and beasts and with the <i>blood</i> of the slain: and it is compelled by workmen, by means of the compulsion of channels, to flow and be conducted against its own will, and to come into garden and other places, so as to cleanse and carry out all the filth of men, and wash away all <i>defilement</i>, and supply man’s need of itself. <i>Wherefore</i> it is <i>impossible</i> that <i>water</i> should be <i>God</i>, but it is a work of <i>God</i> and a part of the world.</p>	<p>Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν. Καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων γέγονε καὶ κατακυριεύεται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, μιαίνεται καὶ φθείρεται καὶ ἀλλοιοῦται ἐψόμενον καὶ ἀλλασσόμενον χρώμασι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους πηγνύμενον καὶ αἵμασι μολυνόμενον καὶ εἰς πάντων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων πλύσιν ἀγόμενον. Διὸ ἀδύνατον τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλ’ ἔργον θεοῦ.</p>

	P.Oxy XV 1778 and P.Heidel inv. G 1013	Syriac	Apology according to B&I Chapter 27
5.2	<p>[σωμάτων. φθ]είρετα[ι] [δὲ καὶ κατὰ πο]λλοὺς [τρόπους ὑπὸ τῶ]ν ἀν[θρώπων σβεν]νύμε[νον καὶ φθει]ρόμενο(ν) [διὸ οὐκ ἐνδέχ]εται [τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θν] ἁλ[λ' ἔργον θν].</p>	<p><i>So too those have erred not a little who thought concerning fire that it is God: for it too was created for the need of men: and in many ways it is made subject to them, in the service of food and in the preparation of ornaments and the other things of which your majesty is aware:</i></p> <p><i>whilst in many ways it is extinguished and destroyed.</i></p>	<p>Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. Τὸ γὰρ πῦρ ἐγένετο εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατακυριεύεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, περιφερόμενον ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον εἰς ἔψησιν καὶ ὀπτησιν παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ</p> <p>νεκρῶν <u>σωμάτων</u>, καὶ <u>κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους</u> ὑπὸ <u>τῶν ἀνθρώπων φθείρεται</u> <u>σβεννύμενον</u>. <u>Διὸ οὐκ</u> <u>ἐνδέχεται τὸ πῦρ εἶναι</u> <u>θεόν ἁλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ</u>.</p>
5.3 (...)	<p>οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὴν τῶ[ν] ἀν[έ]μων πνοὴν θν εἶναι, [πλανῶ]νται. φανερὰ [γάρ] ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὅτι [δο]υλεύει ἐτέρῳ.</p>	<p><i>And again those who have thought concerning the blast of winds that it is God, these also have erred: and this is evident to us, that these winds are subject to another, since sometimes their blast is increased and sometimes it is diminished and ceases, according to the commandment of Him who subjects them.</i></p>	<p>Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὴν εἶναι θεόν πλανῶνται. Φανερόν γάρ ἐστιν ὅτι δουλεύει ἐτέρῳ</p>

	P.Oxy XV 1778 and P.Heidel inv. G 1013	Syriac	Apology according to B&I Chapter 27
(...) 5.3 cont.	<p>ποτε [μὲν γὰρ] α[υ]ζε[ι, ποτε] δε λήγει. οὐκοῦν ἀναγ[κά]ζεται ὑπὸ τινος (-[-----] [--] --ξει - [-----] νωνα--[-] α - [-----] λ---[-]-- four lines missing [-----]-ελ--ι [-----] ντων των [-----] νωντ[-] around five lines missing)</p> <p>θν, ἀ[λλ' ἔργον θυ.]</p>	<p>Since for the sake of man they were created by God, in order that they might fulfil the needs of trees and fruits and seeds, and that they might transport ships upon the sea; those ships which bring to men their necessary things, from a place where they are found; and furnish the different parts of the world. Since then this wind is sometimes increased and sometimes diminished, there is one place in which it does good and another where it does harm, according to the <i>nod of Him who rules</i> <i>it</i>: and even men are able by means of well-known instruments to catch and coerce it that it may fulfil for them the necessities which they demand of it: a place where they are not found; and furnish the different parts of the world. and over itself it has no power at all; wherefore it is not possible that winds should be called gods, but a work of God.</p>	<p>καὶ χάριν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεσκευάσται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ</p> <p>πρὸς μεταγωγὴν πλοίων</p> <p>καὶ συγκομιδὴν τῶν σιτίων καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς αὐτῶν χρείας·</p> <p>αὕξει τε καὶ λήγει</p> <p>κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ.</p> <p>Διὸ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὴν εἶναι θεῶν ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.</p>

	P.Oxy XV 1778 and P.Heidel inv. G 1013	Syriac	Apology according to B&I Chapter 27
6.1	<p>εἰ δὲ νομίζουσι <u>τὸν ἥλιον</u> <u>εἶναι θεὸν, πλατύνοντα/ι.</u> <u>ὁρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν</u> <u>κινούμενον κατὰ</u> <u>ἀνάγκην καὶ</u> <u>τρεπόμενον,</u> <u>καὶ μεταβαίνοντα</u> <u>ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς</u> <u>σημεῖον, καθ' ἡμέραν</u> <u>φερόμενον, δύνοντά τε καὶ</u> <u>ἀνατέλλοντα</u> <u>τοῦ θερμαίνειν τὰ</u> <u>βλαστὰ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ εἰς τὴν</u> <u>χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,</u> <u>ἐπει (1. ἔτι) καὶ μερισμοὺς</u> <u>ἔχοντα μετὰ</u> <u>τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων</u> <u>καὶ</u> <u>ἐλάττονα ὄντα τοῦ</u> <u>[οὐρανοῦ] π[ό]λυ. αὐξ[ει]</u> <u>δὲ καὶ μειοῦται [καὶ</u> <u>ἐκλείπει] ἔχει</u> <u>καὶ μηδεμίαν</u> <u>αὐτοκράτειαν ἔχοντα.</u> <u>διὸ οὐ</u> <u>γενόμεσται [τὸ]ν</u> <u>ἥλιον εἶναι θεόν,</u></p>	<p>So too those have erred who have thought concerning the sun that he is God. For lo! we see him, that by the necessity of another he is moved and turned and runs his course; and he proceeds from degree to degree, rising and setting every day, in order that he may warm the shoots of plants and shrubs, and may bring forth in the air which is mingled with him every herb which is on the earth. And in calculation then sun has a part with the rest of the stars in his course, and although he is one in his nature, he is mixed with many parts, according to the advantage of the needs of men: and that not according to his own will, but according to the will of Him that ruleth him. Wherefore it is not possible that the sun should be God, but a work of God;</p>	<p>Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες <u>τὸν ἥλιον</u> <u>εἶναι θεὸν πλατύνοντα.</u> <u>Ὅρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν</u> <u>κινούμενον κατὰ</u> <u>ἀνάγκην καὶ</u> <u>τρεπόμενον</u> <u>καὶ μεταβαίνοντα</u> <u>ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς</u> <u>σημεῖον,</u> <u>δύνοντα καὶ</u> <u>ἀνατέλλοντα</u> <u>τοῦ θερμαίνειν τὰ</u> <u>φυτὰ καὶ βλαστάνοῦσα εἰς</u> <u>χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,</u> <u>ἔτι δὲ καὶ μερισμοὺς</u> <u>ἔχοντα μετὰ</u> <u>τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων</u> <u>καὶ</u> <u>ἐλάττονα ὄντα τοῦ</u> <u>οὐρανοῦ πολὺ</u> <u>καὶ</u> <u>ἐκλείποντα τοῦ φωτὸς</u> <u>καὶ μηδεμίαν</u> <u>αὐτοκράτειαν ἔχοντα.</u> <u>Διὸ οὐ</u> <u>γενόμεσται τὸν</u> <u>ἥλιον εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλ'</u> <u>ἔργον θεοῦ.</u></p>
6.2	<p>(possibly eight lines missing) [-----]po-[---] [-----] [-----]να [-]νους [-----]-ετ[--] [-----]---[</p>		

The comparison of chapters 4.3 and 6.2 of the *Apology* concerns the contents of the two Greek fragments: P.Oxy. XV 1778 and P.Heidel. inv. G 1013.⁷⁶⁹ With a number of lines missing, these fragments have undergone greater wear in comparison to P.London 223 (olim inv. 2486). Nevertheless it becomes obvious from the number of parallels between the Greek fragments and the Greek *B&I* that both texts – despite being centuries apart in the manuscript tradition – are so parallel that their relation is much closer than indicated by the stemma of Pouderon and Pierre. In contrast, it is apparent that both Greek versions differ considerably from the Syriac which appears in parts as a considerable broadening, in others as reporting the content rather than a literal translation. Let us look at details:

It all starts with the very opening. While the Syriac has a comparative as a beginning (‘and in like manner again’), both Greek versions open with an adversative (*Οἱ δὲ*).⁷⁷⁰ And although the next part in the Greek fragment is badly preserved, the suggested reading by Hagedorn’s edition is, as he himself admits, questionable (there are only traces of characters left which cannot be identified)⁷⁷¹ and is inspired by the Syriac version. The problem, however, is that Hagedorn does not account for the missing *Kaì* and *αὐτὸ*.⁷⁷² If his papyrological reconstruction were correct, then in this one instance, the papyrus had a reading that would have some proximity to both the Syriac (with twice ‘water’), and the Greek *B&I* version (the active form *τὸ ὕδωρ ... γέγονε* instead of the passive ‘water was created’). More important is that even in this place the Syriac adds a passage that is absent from the two Greek versions (‘and in many ways it is made subject to him’). Hence, when in the next section the Greek fragment has a lacuna and the Syriac overshoots the Greek, it is likely that this is also added text by the Syriac version. As important as this is the deviance of the Greek compared to the Syriac at the end of the lacuna of the papyrus. There, the added text in the Greek *B&I* is being picked up by the papyrus which overshoots this time the Syriac

⁷⁶⁹ For a comparative description between the two fragments, the Syriac and the Greek *Apology* see C. Alpignano, *Aristide di Atene* (1988):147-50; A. Neppi Modona, ‘Aristide’ (1922): 325-7. Neither scholars discuss the differences between the different versions of the *Apology* in great depth, and they cast no additional light on the discussion here.

⁷⁷⁰ Similar in *Apology* 5.3 and 6.1 below.

⁷⁷¹ D. Hagedorn, ‘Ein neues Fragment’ (2000): 43.

⁷⁷² *Ibidem*.

(νεκρῶν σωμάτων, καὶ). This means, however, that where the Greek *B&I* has added text compared to the Syriac, this text must be as old as the Greek papyrus is. The same phenomenon is repeated at the end of chapter 5.2 (Διὸ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θεόν ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ). There are, however, a few places where the papyrus has added text, which is neither in the Greek *B&I* nor in the Syriac (5.3 reads: οὐκοῦν ἀναγ[κά]ζεται ὑπό τινος) and which leads to a bettering of the reading of *B&I* (5.3 reads: [γάρ] ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὅτι [δο]υλεύει). Hence, the Greek *B&I* cannot go directly back to the papyrus version, but there seem to have been intermediaries.

From the beginning of 5.2 to the end of νεκρῶν there are exactly 165 characters. This shows that the missing lines of the Greek fragments could be word for word parallel to the Greek *B&I* version.

Following this, we have two small sections at the end of 5.2 that are found in both Greek versions, but not in the Syriac version of the *Apology*. The only phrase that does not appear in the Greek *B&I* version (but does in the Greek fragments and Syriac version) is καὶ φθειρόμενο(v) ('destroyed'); φθείρεται is used not only in 5.2, but also in chapters 4.3,⁷⁷³ 5.1⁷⁷⁴ and 7.1⁷⁷⁵ of the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*. The reason why there is a slight difference between the Greek *B&I* and Greek fragments can be found in other manuscripts. Volk uses the Urtexts to produce *B&I*; however, if we look to the other manuscripts we discover that after σωμάτων we have φθείρεται δὲ in EFGHJKLMNO'PQRSTU₂'V(has γάρ instead of δὲ)W₁W₂Kech. The φθείρεται (after ἀνθρώπων) is then omitted in these manuscripts. This re-ordering of the Greek *B&I Apology* now shows a parallel to the Greek fragments, thus raising doubts as to the reliability of the so-called Urtext sources.⁷⁷⁶

There is no break in chapter 5.3 of the Greek fragment text as it moves from [δο]υλεύει ἑτέρω to ποτὲ [μὲν γὰρ]. The content in the Syriac is broadened, but also the Greek *B&I* version shows some knowledge (καὶ χάριν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεσκεύασται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς μεταγωγὴν πλοίων καὶ συγκομιδὴν τῶν **σιτίων** καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς αὐτῶν χρείας). This suggests, as the content is not necessary, but the topic of the wind is narratologically expanded in the Greek *B&I* and even more in the Syriac that the shorter

⁷⁷³ Parallel to the Syriac text.

⁷⁷⁴ Parallel to the Greek Fragments and Syriac text.

⁷⁷⁵ Parallel to the Syriac text.

⁷⁷⁶ φθείρεται is used throughout *B&I*: chapters 8, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23 and 28.

version of the papyrus may represent an older stage of textual transmission, followed by the Greek *B&I* and, again, followed by the Syriac.⁷⁷⁷

A close parallel between the Greek fragments and the Greek *B&I* version continues in chapter 6.1 of the *Apology*. However, the phrase καθ' ἡμέραν φερόμενον is missing in the Greek *B&I* version.⁷⁷⁸ This additional detail is contained and detailed ('every') in the Syriac version. Although both ἡμέρα and φέρω appear throughout the novel of *B&I*, nowhere can we isolate a similar comparison to the Greek fragments and Syriac versions of the *Apology*. This, however, does not lead us to conclude that the redactor of *B&I* has removed this phrase from his text, it might have been that it was already missing in the *Vorlage*. Καθ' ἡμέραν φερόμενον provides a subject for the sentence, something the Greek *B&I* version does not have.

Towards the end of the comparison, the Greek fragments and the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* both contain additional information that is not present in the Syriac text. The Greek fragments read, of the moon: 'and is much smaller than heaven, but it increases and decreases, and it has an eclipse',⁷⁷⁹ while the Greek *B&I* reads: 'and is much smaller than heaven, it suffers eclipses of light'.⁷⁸⁰ The inclusion of 'it increases and decreases' in the Greek fragments is similar to chapter 5.3 of the *Apology* (when it discusses the wind as a god): the fragments contains the phrase ποτε [μὲν γὰρ] αὐ[ῶ]ξε[ι] ποτε] δὲ λῆγει. Comparing the two phrases contained in the Greek fragments,⁷⁸¹ beyond the exclusion of ποτε and the re-use of αὐξει, in the second instance of 'increases and decreases' a different word is chosen for 'decreases'. The first time we have λῆγει ('diminish') whereas the second time we have μειοῦται ('decrease'). Where the use of the phrase for the second time is not included in the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*, the *B&I* version adds 'of light'.⁷⁸² As with the previous discussion, it would appear

⁷⁷⁷ While C. Alpigiano, 'L'Apologia di Aristide' (1986): 355 thinks the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* shortens, or omits, part of the *Apology*, in this section here, Alpigiano thinks the Syriac uses 'remarkably long-winded demonstrative adjectives and personal pronouns', often extending the *Apology* unnecessarily.

Chapter 27: σιτίων is replaced with καρπῶν in U₂'.

⁷⁷⁸ Chapter 27: The only manuscript difference is in U₂' which after σημειῖον, δύνοντα it adds τὲ, like the Greek Fragments.

⁷⁷⁹ ἐ[λλάττον]α ὄντα τοῦ [οὐρανοῦ] π[ό]λυ. αὐξ[ε]ι δὲ καὶ μειοῦται [καὶ ἐκλείπει] ἔχει.

⁷⁸⁰ ἐλάττονα ὄντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ καὶ ἐκλείποντα τοῦ φωτός.

⁷⁸¹ As found in the P.Oxy fragment.

⁷⁸² τοῦ φωτός.

nonsensical for the copyist or redactor of the Greek fragments to remove this from his text, as it provides the precision of the image.⁷⁸³ With little doubt, if the redactor of *B&I* has here a deteriorated text compared to the Greek papyrus, this would explain why it is entirely missing in the Syriac. This, however, is another hint that the *Vorlage* of the Greek *B&I* is more reliable than the text represented by the Syriac.

If we compare the discussion on whether the sun is a god (chapter 6.1), with the discussion regarding whether the moon is a god (chapter 6.2) we can see how the Greek *B&I* text reflects the Greek fragments, but in this distorted passage must have corrected the text according to the other passage:

Greek Fragments (6.1)	<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27 (6.1)	<i>Apology</i> according to <i>B&I</i> Chapter 27 (6.2)
καὶ ἐ[λλάτον]α ὄντα τοῦ [οὐρανοῦ] π[ό]λυ. αὐξ[ει δὲ καὶ] μειοῦται [καὶ ἐκλείψει] ἔχει	καὶ ἐλάττονα ὄντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πολὺ καὶ ἐκλείποντα τοῦ φωτός	καὶ ἐλάττονα οὐσαν τοῦ ἡλίου, αὐξουμένην τε καὶ μειουμένην καὶ ἐκλείψει ἔχουσαν.

If chapter 6.1 of the Greek *B&I* reflected the Greek fragments, as chapter 6.2 does, we could conclude that the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* has inserted τοῦ φωτός. Although no similar context using τοῦ φωτός is found in *B&I*, one example in chapter 17 of *B&I* does have a similar context to the Greek fragments: τὰ μὲν νοητὰ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, τὴν τε ἐν τῷ καλῷ προκοπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀποφοίτησιν, τὰ δὲ αἰσθητὰ κατὰ γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν, αὐξησὶν τε καὶ μείωσιν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ ποιότητα μεταβολὴν καὶ τοπικὴν κίνησιν. This has been taken from John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 3, and not created by the redactor. The insertion of this, as well as similar content in chapter 6.2 of the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*, suggests that the redactor of *B&I* would not have removed αὐξ[ει δὲ καὶ] μειοῦται, because he uses the phrase elsewhere, but that the text was already distorted when he inserted the *Apology*.

To conclude, there seem to be very few differences between the Greek fragments and the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*; in fact the two texts seem closer to each

⁷⁸³ We presume the redactor who added τοῦ φωτός was referring to a solar eclipse, as opposed to a lunar eclipse. This is fairly evident given the nature of *Apology* 6.1: a rhetoric against the sun being called a god.

other than do the Greek fragments and the Syriac text. However, is the same true for P.London?

B) P.London

	P.London Inv. No. 2486	Syriac	Apology according to B&I Chapter 27
15. 4-6 (...)	<p>πειθον[τε]ς και <u>τους εχθρους</u> ευ <u>ποιησαι</u> και αι γυναικες αυτων αγναι και παρθενοι εισιν και ταις γαστρασιν ουκ υποτιθεασιν οι δε ανδρες αυτων <u>ενκρατευονται απο</u> <u>πασης συνουσιας ανομου</u> και <u>ακοθαρσιας</u> μαλλον δε</p>	<p>and make them their friends; and they do good to their enemies: and their wives, O king, are pure as virgins, and their daughters modest: and their men abstain from all unlawful wedlock and from all impurity,</p>	<p>και προσφιλεις εαυτοις <u>ποιοῦσο</u>, <u>τοὺς ἐχθροὺς</u> εὐεργετεῖν σπουδάζουσι, <u>πραεῖς</u> εἰσι <u>καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς</u>, <u>ἀπὸ</u> <u>πάσης συνουσίας ἀνόμου</u> <u>καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας</u></p>

	P.London Inv. No. 2486	Syriac	Apology according to B&I Chapter 27
(...) 15. 4-6 cont.	<p>και αι γυναικες ομοιως <u>εγκρατευονται</u> <u>ελπιδος</u></p> <p>γαρ μεγαλης αντεχονται της μαλλουσης <u>αλλα και</u> <u>δουλους η</u> <u>παιδισκας εαν εχωσιν η</u> <u>τεκνα</u></p> <p><u>πειθουσιν αυτους</u> <u>χρειστιανους γενεσθαι</u></p> <p><u>ινα εχωσιν ευνοους και</u> <u>οταν γενωνται τοιουτοι</u> <u>αδελφους καλουσιν αυτους</u> <u>αμεριστοι οντες θεους</u> <u>αλλοτριους ου</u> <u>προσκυνουσιν</u></p> <p><u>πραιες</u> <u>και επιεικεις</u> <u>και αιδημονες και</u> <u>αψευδεις εισιν και</u> <u>αλληλους αγαπωσιν</u> <u>χηραν ουκ υπερ ορωσιν</u></p> <p><u>ορφανον δε σωζουσιν ο</u> <u>εχων τω μη εχοντι</u> <u>ανεπιφθονως</u></p> <p><u>χορηγουσιν</u> <u>ξενους ινα ειδωσιν υπο την</u> <u>ιδιαν</u> <u>στεγην</u> <u>εις αγουσιν</u> <u>και</u> <u>χαιρουσιν επ αυτω ως επι</u> <u>αδελφω αληθινω ου γαρ</u> <u>κατα σαρκα αδελφους</u> <u>εαυτους καλουσιν</u> <u>αλλα κατα</u> <u>ψυχην</u></p>	<p>in the <i>hope</i> of the recompense that is to come in another world:</p> <p><i>but as for</i> <i>their servants or</i> <i>handmaids,</i> <i>or their children if any of</i> <i>them have any, they</i> <i>persuade them to</i> <i>become Christians</i> <i>for the love that they have</i> <i>towards them;</i> <i>and when they have</i> <i>become so, they call them</i> <i>without distinction</i> <i>brethren: they do not</i> <i>worship strange gods:</i> <i>and</i> <i>they walk in all humility</i> <i>and kindness, and no</i> <i>falsehood is found among</i> <i>them, and they love one</i> <i>another: and from the</i> <i>widows they do not turn</i> <i>away their countenance:</i> <i>and they rescue the</i> <i>orphan from him who does</i> <i>him violence: and he who</i> <i>has gives to him who has</i> <i>not, without grudging;</i> <i>and when they see the</i> <i>stranger they bring him to</i> <i>their dwellings, and</i> <i>rejoice over him as over a</i> <i>true brother; for they do</i> <i>not call brothers those</i> <i>who are after the flesh,</i> <i>but those who are in the</i> <i>spirit and in God:</i></p>	<p><u>εγκρατεύονται</u></p> <p><u>χήραν οὐχ ὑπερορῶσιν.</u></p> <p><u>ὀρφανὸν οὐ λυποῦσιν· ὁ</u> <u>ἔχων τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι</u> <u>ἀφθόνως</u></p> <p><u>ἐπιχορηγεῖ·</u> <u>ξένον ἐὰν ἴδωσιν, ὑπὸ</u> <u>στέγην</u> <u>εἰσάγουσι</u> <u>καὶ</u> <u>χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς ἐπὶ</u> <u>ἀδελφῷ ἀληθινῷ· οὐ γὰρ</u> <u>κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφοὺς</u> <u>ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσιν,</u> <u>ἀλλὰ κατὰ</u> <u>ψυχήν.</u></p>

	P.London Inv. No. 2486	Syriac	Apology according to B&I Chapter 27
(...) 15. 7-8 cont.	<p>ευχαριστουσιν <u>αυτω</u> <u>κατα</u> πρωϊας και <u>πασαν</u> <u>ωραν</u></p> <p><i>εν παντι βρωτω</i> <u>και ποτω και τοις λοιποις</u> <u>αγαθοις</u></p>	<p><i>every morning and at all hours on account of the goodnesses of God toward them they praise and laud Him: and over their food and over their drink they render Him thanks.</i></p>	<p><i>εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν</i></p> <p><i>ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς.</i></p>
15.9	<p>εαν δε και</p> <p>αποθανη τις ευσεβης εξ αυτων χαιρουσιν και ευχαριστουσιν και προσευχονται περι αυτου και προπεμπουσιν ως αποδημουντα επαν δε τεκνον γεννηθη</p> <p>αυτοις ευχαριστουσιν τω θω εαν δε νηπιον ε]ξελθη υπερευχαριστουσιν οτι</p> <p>αναμαρτητὸ<ν> απηλθεν εαν δε</p> <p>αμαρτιας τις εχων αποθανη</p> <p>κλαιουσιν ως επι κολασιν απερχο[χο]μενου αυτου ταυτα ουν ω βασιλευ τα δογματα αυτων εισιν</p>	<p><i>And if any righteous person of their number passes away from the world they rejoice and give thanks to God,</i></p> <p><i>and they follow his body, as if he were moving from one place to another: and when a child is born to any one of them, they praise God, and if again it chance to die in its infancy, they praise God mightily, as for one who has passed through the world without sins.</i></p> <p><i>And if again they see that one of their number has died in his iniquity or in his sins, over this one they weep bitterly and sigh, as over one who is about to go to punishment: such is the ordinance of the law of the Christians, O king, and such their conduct.</i></p>	

	P.London Inv. No. 2486	Syriac	<i>Apology according to B&I Chapter 27</i>
16. 1-2	<p>ων χρειαν αυτοι εχοντες του θυ αιτουνται παρ αυτου</p> <p>και ου τως διαπερωσιν τον κοσμον τουτον με χρι τελειωσεως χρονων οτι ο θς αυτοις παντα υπεταξεν δουλα ευχαριστοι ουν εισιν αυτω και δι αυτου<ς> η συμπασα διοικησις εγινετο</p> <p>και η κτισις</p> <p><u>οντως ουν</u> ουτοι ευρον</p>	<p>As men who know God, they ask from Him petitions which are proper for Him to give and for them to receive: and thus they accomplish the course of their lives. And because they acknowledge the goodness of God towards them, lo! on account of them there flows forth the beauty that is in the world. And truly they are of the number of those that have found the truth</p>	<p><u>Οντως ουν</u> αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ἥτις τοὺς ὁδεύοντας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον χειραγωγεῖ βασιλείαν, τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην παρὰ</p>

Compared to P.Oxy and P.Heidel, the content and context of the P.London fragment is very different in comparison to the Syriac and the Greek *B&I* versions.⁷⁸⁴ There are fewer parallels between P.London and the Greek *B&I* version, but there are also a number of additions in P.London which have no parallel with the Syriac version. Obvious for the reader of the comparison is that there are far more parallels between P.London and the Syriac version of the *Apology* than to the Greek *B&I* version. As previously discussed,⁷⁸⁵ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre take the papyrological evidence as the ‘most true’ to the ‘original text’; because of the similarity between P.London and

⁷⁸⁴ For K.-G. Essig, ‘Erwägungen’ (1986): 173, this enables us to isolate the contents of the original *Apology*. The only other scholars who offer a comparison between P.London, Syriac and Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* is C. Alpigiano, *Aristide di Atene* (1988): 182; J. de Zwaan, ‘Apology’ (1925): 112-4.

Here I have copied the manuscript from H.J.M. Milne, ‘Apology of Aristides’ (1924): 74. No scholar has tried to restore the manuscript.

⁷⁸⁵ In chapter 1.B.iv of this study: see the discussion on the stemma of the *Apology*.

the Syriac, they are then able to assert the superiority of the Syriac version. True though this may be as a conclusion from the comparison of P.London and the Syriac version, the assertion can only hold for chapters 15.6 to 16.1, the contents of P.London, and is in stark contrast to the previous comparison. On the contrary, as our comparison here shows – the added texts in P.London and the Syriac are narratological expansions of specific topics (burial practices) and enlargements which go against the main thrust of the passage (the added ‘wives’ being pure) which highlight that the Greek *B&I* version here represents an earlier version than both P.London and the Syriac – or to be even more clear, P.London is rather a witness that belongs into the Syriac tradition, while the Greek *B&I* should be grouped with the other two papyri, the P.Oxy and P.Heidel, as these two fragments follow much more closely the text of the Greek *B&I* version.⁷⁸⁶ Returning to the aim of this study, let us assess the differences between the different versions of the *Apology*, in particular the additions contained in the *B&I* version.

At the beginning of the comparison we find a difference in the verb used. The Greek fragment has *πειθον[τε]ς* (‘to persuade’). It is here suggested that not all Christians, but only those who have recently become Christian, are ‘persuaded to do good to their enemies’, implying that established Christians are having to persuade new Christians. The Syriac states ‘they do good to their enemies’, whereas the Greek *B&I* version has the Christians being ‘eager to do good to their enemies’. Each text has a different implication; beyond this, the main difference among the three versions of the *Apology* is the inclusion of *σπουδάζουσι* in the Greek *B&I* version. *Σπουδάζουσι* appears throughout *B&I*,⁷⁸⁷ however, only twice in chapter 12 do we have something similar to the *Apology*.⁷⁸⁸ The first of these examples has been inserted without reference to an external source, whereas the second refers to John Chrysostom. Nevertheless, although John Chrysostom does use *σπουδῆς*, there is no strong parallel with *B&I* chapter 12. Both passages describe the Christians as being ‘eager’. It could be

⁷⁸⁶ B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre (*Apologie* [2003]: 148) describe how the Syriac does ‘build on the basic text (of P.London), either by glossing or adding phrases of its own’ as well as abbreviating other parts of the text.

⁷⁸⁷ *B&I* 5, 7, 12, 19, 25, 26, 28, 35, 36, 38, 39.

⁷⁸⁸ Τὴν τε θεωρίαν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως ἀχώριστον τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἔσχον καρδίας, καὶ ἐσπούδασαν καμεῖν, ἵνα τῆς αἰδίου δόξης μὴ ἀποτύχωσι. Γεγόνασιν ἀπαθεῖς ὥσπερ ἄγγελοι, and Τοῦτους οὖν τοὺς θαυμασίους καὶ ἀγίους ἄνδρας καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ εὐτελεῖς καὶ ἀνάξιοι μιμεῖσθαι σπουδάζομεν· οὐκ ἐφικνούμεθα δὲ τῷ ὕψει τῆς οὐρανοπολίτου αὐτῶν διαγωγῆς (the latter refers to John Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum* 69.4).

suggested that the redactor has inserted σπουδάζουσι into the *Apology*; however, there is no compelling evidence to support this hypothesis.

Following this first parallel, there are a number of ideas that are found in both the Greek fragment and the Syriac version, but not in the Greek *B&I* version. Furthermore, the Greek fragment adds how their wives, and their virgins, ‘do not obey their stomach’; which is not found in either the Syriac or the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*. The content of the Syriac and Greek fragment versions of the *Apology* does not appear in *B&I*; nor can it be found in the *Balavariani*. This may be because these ideas have been removed by another redactor, or it may be that the Greek fragment and the Syriac have inserted additional content into their text, under the influence of their cultural surroundings. Overall, the latter appears the more logical explanation, because the content of the Greek fragment and the Syriac reflect the asceticism located throughout the rest of the *B&I* novel and, as mentioned, go against the thrust of the passage.⁷⁸⁹

We find few differences between the Greek fragment and the Syriac version; however, there is no parallel between those texts and the Greek *B&I* version.⁷⁹⁰ The exclusion of content in the Greek *B&I* version here is not by the hand of the redactor of *B&I*. We can reach this conclusion because, in chapter 33 of *B&I*, the kingdom of the Indians is split into two: the people in Ioasaph’s half of the kingdom ‘were so well initiated into his inspired teachings, that they renounced the errors of their many gods’.⁷⁹¹ The content of the Greek fragment and the Syriac version of the *Apology* is of a similar nature. There would therefore be no reason for the redactor to exclude similar content from the *Apology*.

In discussing ‘the orphan’, both the Syriac and the Greek fragment refer to ‘rescue’⁷⁹² of the orphan, whereas *B&I* contains ‘nor oppress the orphan’. There are a

⁷⁸⁹ This is evident throughout the whole of the *B&I* novel.

⁷⁹⁰ The *B&I* version of the *Apology* uses πράξεις εἰσι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς which is contained in the Greek Fragments and Syriac version of the *Apology* (albeit, in a different context).

⁷⁹¹ Chapter 33 of *B&I* then describes what Ioasaph did: this included not making a distinction from one man to the next (making them all equal) and giving to those who had not. The *Balavariani* stresses more the distribution of wealth in Ioasaph’s half of the kingdom (see *Balavariani* 2.53-6). Although this is still present in *B&I*, it is less prominent than the *Balavariani*. This would suggest the redactor of *B&I* did not want to fixate as much on the idea of almsgiving. This however, is not reason enough for the total exclusion of such ideas, as we have in the *B&I* version of the *Apology*.

⁷⁹² σώζουσιν can mean ‘to save,’ ‘to protect’ or ‘to heal.’

number of uses of orphan throughout *B&I*,⁷⁹³ however, nothing that resembles what we find in chapter 27. There is therefore no reason why the redactor would here change the content of the *Apology*. The end of chapter 15.6 has a parallel between the three different versions of the *Apology*. At the beginning of chapter 15.7, again only the Greek fragment and the Syriac are parallel, albeit that the Syriac includes additional detail. The Greek *B&I* version does not follow the content of either the Greek fragment or the Syriac version; however, the context is similar. The Greek *B&I* version reads: ‘They are ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Christ’.⁷⁹⁴ This is similar to the Syriac: ‘if they hear that any of their number is imprisoned or oppressed for the name of their Messiah, all of them provide for his needs’. There is no reason for the redactor of *B&I* to have excluded the content of the Syriac, as elsewhere in *B&I* he states: if brethren of hermits [that is to say, other Christians] bring to them [the hermits] bread, they shall take it ‘and bless the faith that brought it’.⁷⁹⁵ Here again we have an ascetic idea (of fasting) in the Greek fragment and the Syriac, but not in the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*.⁷⁹⁶ Fasting is referred to elsewhere in *B&I*.⁷⁹⁷ Therefore, for the redactor to specifically remove a reference to fasting here would be ‘uncharacteristic’.

The Greek fragment then add: και ο[τ]ι μελλουσ[ιν] εαυτοις τειθεναι πεμπουσιν εκεινοι[ς] † οιομενοι αυτοι ευφανεσθαι ως αυτοι επ ευφασια<v> κεκλησθαι †. This is not contained in either the Syriac or the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*, suggesting

⁷⁹³ *B&I* 9: ὀρφανὸν εἰς προνομήν (*Isaiah* 10:2-4); chapter 22: ὀρφανῶ σὺ ἦσθα βοηθός (*Psalms* 9:5); chapter 33 Ἐντεῦθεν ἡρευνῶντο αὐτῷ φυλακαί, οἱ ἐν μετάλλοις κατακεκλεισμένοι, οἱ ὑπὸ δανειστῶν συμπνιγόμενοι· καὶ πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως ἐπιχορηγῶν πάντα πατήρ ἦν ἀπάντων τῶν ὀρφανῶν τε καὶ χηρῶν καὶ πενήτων, πατήρ φιλόστοργος καὶ ἀγαθός, ἐαυτὸν δοκῶν εὐεργετεῖν ἐκ τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς γενομένης εὐεργεσίας (there are a number of references here. The use of orphan refers to, but does not quote, *Psalms* 67:6); chapter 36 κλαιόντων πάντων τὴν ὀρφανίαν ἐαυτῶν καὶ θρηνοῦντων· (no reference) and ὠδύροντο μὲν τὴν ὀρφανίαν, οὐκ εἶχον δὲ ὅλως αὐτὸν πειθόμενον (reference to *Balavariani* 3.65). Orphan however does not appear in the *Balavariani*. Chapter 27: ἀφθόνως is spelt ἀνεπιφθόνως, like the Greek Fragments, in LMNO⁺SU₁XYZ.

⁷⁹⁴ A similar idea of dying for Christ is located in *B&I* 1: καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ θάνατον ἐδίψων (Symeon Metaphrastes, *S. Demetrii Martyris Acta* 3); chapter 23: ἡμῖν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστός ἐστι καὶ τὸ θανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κέρδος ἄριστον. [...] Ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις οὖν πολυειδέσι τιμωρίαις τὰς καρτερικὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς τῷ κυρίῳ παρέθεντο οἱ ἱεροὶ ἀσκηταί; chapter 33: κάκεινον ζημιωθήσῃ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντα ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἀποθανεῖν. Similar evidence can be also located in 3.65 of the *Balavariani*. This suggests the redactor of *B&I* may have changed the *Apology*, however the language chosen in *B&I* is different to the *Apology*’s language.

⁷⁹⁵ *B&I* 18. See also *Balavariani* 2.36.

⁷⁹⁶ For a discussion on ‘fasting for two or three days’ see E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 121.

⁷⁹⁷ *B&I* 12: Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅλας τὰς τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμέρας ἄσιτοι διατελοῦντες τῇ κυριακῇ τροφῇ μετελάμβανον· οἱ δὲ δις τῆς ἐβδομάδος ταύτης ἐμέμνητο· ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ μίαν ἢ καὶ καθ’ ἐσπέραν ἐσιτοῦντο ὅσον μόνον τροφῇ ἀπογεῦεσθαι (Nilus Ancyranus, *Narrationes septem de monachis in Sina* 3.7 [15.2-5]). See also chapters 19, 30 and 32 (these however only refer to fasting and do not resemble the *Apology*).

that it has been added to the Greek fragment. Each of the three versions of the *Apology* has a different expression for whose commandments are observed: the Greek *B&I* version states it is the ‘Lord God’; the Syriac refers to the ‘Messiah’; and the Greek fragment state it is ‘God’s’.

Chapter 15.9 is excluded from the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*. We can say with confidence that the redactor of *B&I* did not remove this section. We know this because key vocabulary found in the Greek and Syriac versions of the *Apology* also appears in *B&I*. For example, εὐσεβής appears in chapters 1,⁷⁹⁸ 4,⁷⁹⁹ 6,⁸⁰⁰ 8, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 35 and 36. Another example is εὐχαριστῶ, which is used in chapters 2,⁸⁰¹ 14,⁸⁰² 16,⁸⁰³ 21,⁸⁰⁴ 35, 36, 37 and 39. Finally, δόγμα is used in chapters 1,⁸⁰⁵ 3,⁸⁰⁶ 4,⁸⁰⁷ 11,⁸⁰⁸ 19,⁸⁰⁹ 21, 22, 24, 26, 27,⁸¹⁰ 28, 30, 32 and 33. The only part of *B&I* that has a similar context and content to the Greek fragment and the Syriac is in chapter 19: Ἀναστήσονται γὰρ οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις· καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ φυλάξαντες ἐντολὰς καὶ τῇ ὀρθῇ συναπελθόντες πίστει κληρονομήσουσι ζωὴν

⁷⁹⁸ τιμωρίας κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν καὶ σφαγὰς ἀδίκους ἀποφαινόμενα.

⁷⁹⁹ εὐσεβῆς δὲ τὴν πίστιν [...] Ὁ μὲν οὖν εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος τὸ λεχθὲν ἀντ’ οὐδενὸς ἡγήσατο.

⁸⁰⁰ Κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τοῖνον τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ σοφὸν βασιλέα (reference to *Balavariani* 2.12; however the content does not reflect *B&I*).

⁸⁰¹ καὶ εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (*Romans* 7:25).

⁸⁰² Εὐχαριστῶ τοῖνον τῷ θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (*Romans* 7:25).

⁸⁰³ οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ μεγάλων πρόξενον γίνεται; Ἐγὼ τοῖνον θυγάτηρ οὕσα γέροντος πτωχοῦ εὐχαριστῶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς τούτοις καὶ εὐλογῶ.

⁸⁰⁴ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑστέρημα πληρῶσαι κύριος, [...] καὶ ἀπῆει χαίρων καὶ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ, τῷ εὐοδῶσαντι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀγαθόν.

⁸⁰⁵ Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, ὀργῆς ὅτι πλείστης πληρωθεὶς καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ὑπερζέσας δόγμα αὐτίκα ἐξέθετο πάντα Χριστιανὸν βιάζεσθαι τοῦ ἐξόμνησθαι τὴν εὐσέβειαν (this, however, does not reflect the *Apology*).

⁸⁰⁶ μήτε μέχρι ψιλοῦ ρήματος τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ δογμάτων ἀκούσειε (see *Balavariani* 1.4).

⁸⁰⁷ Αὐτὸς δὲ δόγμα ἐξέθετο ἔτι αποτομώτερον, ὡς ἂν ὅπου τις μονάζων εὐρεθῇ, παρευθὴ ἀνεξετάστως φονεῦσθαι (this however is not similar to the *Apology*, see *Balavariani* 1.6).

⁸⁰⁸ Ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἀκριβείας τῶν δογμάτων χρηζούσης καὶ τὴν ἀκραίφνη ταύτην πολιτείαν.

⁸⁰⁹ Τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οὖν δόγμασι καὶ λόγοις σωτηρίους κατηχήσας ὁ Βαρλαάμ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν [...] ἐν τοιοῦτοις δόγμασι καὶ μετὰ τοιαύτης πίστεως βαπτισθήσῃ.

⁸¹⁰ καθάπερ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰς καθ’ ἡμᾶς περιῆλθε χώρας τὸ δόγμα κηρύσσων τῆς ἀληθείας. This has no parallel to any other version of the *Apology*. Although ‘truth’ and ‘doctrine’ are also used in the same sentence in chapter 26 and 30 of *B&I*, neither speak about the ‘true doctrine’ (as we have in the *Apology*). Instead, both chapters discuss ‘the truth of the doctrine which is spoken,’ suggesting this phrase was not inserted into the *Apology* by the redactor of *B&I*.

αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις καταφθαρέντες εἰς κόλασιν ἀπελεύσονται αἰώνιον. Just because the redactor of *B&I* does not have specific content similar to what is found in the Greek fragment and Syriac versions of the *Apology*, does not lead us to conclude that he has removed this section from the *Apology*.⁸¹¹

Inconsistencies between the Greek fragment and the Syriac can be found in chapter 16.1 of the *Apology*; further, the contents of neither version of the *Apology* are contained in the Greek *B&I* version.⁸¹² The first similarity among all three texts is the discussion on ‘truth’. The Greek *B&I* reading: Ὅντως οὖν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἀληθείας, does not appear in the Greek fragment, but if the text followed the Syriac version of the *Apology*, the inclusion of ἀληθείας would be apparent; however, we can do no more than speculate on such claims. The Greek *B&I* version is one of a few passages that are similar to the Bible: the phrase ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας is from 2 *Peter* 2:2; but the context is very different. The ‘way of truth’ is used in chapters 21⁸¹³ and 25 of *B&I*,⁸¹⁴ however, both examples follow a similar pattern (τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδός), which is different from the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* (ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας), suggesting that the redactor of *B&I* did not insert this passage.⁸¹⁵ It is most probable, therefore, that the differences between the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* and the Syriac and Greek fragment’s versions at the beginning of chapter 16.1 were made in the tradition of the Syriac and P.London.

There are a number of differences between P.London and the Syriac in comparison with the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology*: notably the exclusion of large sections of text from the *B&I* version. However, on the basis of the arguments in chapter 3 of this study, we can conclude that the redactor of *B&I* has not shortened the *Apology* as it is given in P.London and the Syriac, but that the latter are based on a tradition within which the *Apology* has been considerably enlarged.

⁸¹¹ No similar content can be located in the *Balavariani*, further suggesting the redactor has not removed content from *B&I* which is comparable to the Greek Fragment and Syriac version of the *Apology*.

⁸¹² Because of the vast differences, a comparison of content of the Greek Fragment and Syriac, to the *B&I* novel would be fruitless.

⁸¹³ καὶ ἔδειξάς μοι τὴν ἐπίτομον τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδόν.

⁸¹⁴ Καὶ τῇ ἀόκνῳ συζητήσει καὶ διαπύρῳ ἐρεῦνη εὐρέθη μοι ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὁδός.

⁸¹⁵ E. Hennecke, ‘Aristides-Apologie’ (1893): 125 concluded that the ‘road of truth’ is a formation which has been inserted by the redactor of *B&I*. I however think the evidence is inconclusive.

Findings

Before we conclude this study, it is important to re-iterate its findings. Let us first remind ourselves of the abstract, and the key research question which I proposed. First, that I needed to unpack the relationship between *B&I* and the *Apology*: to understand the framework, linguistic entities and theological ideas. Further how does the *Apology* read as part of the overall narrative of *B&I*, and to explore why this ‘added’ text may have been chosen. Once we have understood this ‘frame’ I can then discuss in more depth how this ‘frame’ of *B&I* may have impacted the interpretation of the *Apology* and whether it has influenced the *Apology*. Finally, from our new understanding on the *Apology*, are we then able to cast new light on the relationship between the Greek papyri and the *Apology*? Therefore I asked ‘With a specific focus on chapters 14 to 17 of the *Apology*, to what extent do the language and content of *B&I* impact the language and content of the *Apology*?’

Chapter 1 of this study concerned itself with understanding the ‘frame’ of *B&I* and how the *Apology* fits into it. I discussed how this Christianised *B&I* was once originally the *Life of Buddha*. I placed some scrutiny on the idea that if the text did come through a Manichaean tradition, this tradition may not have then reached us as part of the *B&I* novel that we now read because the Manichaeans would have had some Christian ideas within their text and it appears, from the evidence proposed, that the first Christian recension was the Georgian *Balavariani* (although we do not own the Arabic, nor Pahlavi, parent text). I then critically assessed different potential authors and redactors of the *B&I* novel. I then looked at and proposed how the purpose and audience from the *Balavariani* to *B&I* has changed: the *Balavariani* was written for ascetic Christians to help them remain firm in their ascetic faith, whereas *B&I* is now aimed at Christians as well as educated non-Christians: the redactor takes the reader through the Christian faith, from its origins in the Old Testament, to who Jesus was, and to dogmatic statements. This is then supported with Barlaam’s direction on how Ioasaph must live his life. Furthermore, we learn that the *Apology* is the nucleus and crux of the novel as the redactor slowly builds up the text to the content of the *Apology* which starts the radical change of beliefs throughout the kingdom. The ultimate purpose of *B&I* is to

promote the triumph of Christianity.⁸¹⁶ This is achieved through the re-use, expansion, abbreviation, adjustment and re-writing of older works of literature to meet new purposes. This, of course, is something which is not solely unique to *B&I*, but was a widespread practice, especially during late antiquity.⁸¹⁷ This practice spread to hagiography, historiography, heresiology, encyclopedic works, and the novels among others.⁸¹⁸

Now that I have discussed the text the *Apology* appears in, and fits into, the second half of chapter 1 discusses the manuscripts of the *Apology*, but more importantly I unpacked the evidence which the latest editors of our critical edition of *B&I* provide us with. I discovered that the French editors had followed suit, like previous scholars before them, in providing no new information and presuming the *Apology* to be a second century text. Further they deal with each manuscript separately, and not as a discrete unit. Because of how they dealt with the manuscripts, it lead them to produce a stemma based on geographical location, instead of the relationship between each text. This is why, from the evidence I discovered in chapter 3 of this thesis, I produced a new stemma which is a reflection of the evidence and relationship between these different versions of the *Apology*.

In chapter 2, I started to delve deeper into the relationship between *B&I* and the *Apology* (something which scholarship has never touched upon) and whether we are able to separate the two texts or not: I discovered that these two texts have similar content and ideas contained within them (which is realised when the *Apology* was left unknown and undiscovered within *B&I* for so long). I started with what appeared to be a second insertion of the *Apology* into chapter 7 of *B&I*. A comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I*, the *B&I* version of the *Apology* and Syriac version of the *Apology* shows us that the redactor of *B&I* did not have a copy of a Greek version of the *Apology* which is

⁸¹⁶ See H. Inglebert, *Interpretatio Christiana* (2001). Inglebert's thesis explores different ideas between 30 to 630 A.D. of how knowledge mutates and is absorbed by Christianity during this time. For example, Greek philosophical thought or the use of the Jewish Bible. Inglebert also looks at how Christian ideas, for example who is deemed a 'heretic' mutates over this time. Inglebert paints a picture of how Christianity, by the time of Islam, appears to have a grasp of (and triumph over) the whole of the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

⁸¹⁷ See M. Horster and C. Reitz, "Condensation' of literature' (2010): 3-14.

⁸¹⁸ See M. Dubischar, 'Survival of the Most Condensed?' (2010): 39-68 and J. Mansfeld, 'Quellen hellenistischer Philosophie' (2010): 91-134.

akin to the Syriac version of the *Apology*, in front of him: an assumption made by scholars.⁸¹⁹

What I discovered in some of these comparisons between chapter 7, and 31, of *B&I* and the *Apology* is that the redactor has changed very little of the *Apology* and the *Vorlage* he copied from is very similar to what we now possess. The redactor may have inserted δημιουργόν into chapter 15.3 of the *Apology*; εὐδόκησεν may have been inserted (eighteenth comparison in chapter 2.A of this study); ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθορως (nineteenth comparison in chapter 2.A. of this study) may have also been added; the use of ἀνῆλθεν (in reference to ‘Jesus going into heaven’) is not original, however it may be the redactor of *B&I* or an earlier redactor who placed this into the *Apology* (there is no specific evidence of one or the other, just the evidence which suggests that there has been a redaction); ‘Moses’ in the *Apology* may have been added (to give more context to the reference to ‘lawgiver’).

I also discovered that there are some mistakes made by the redactor of *B&I*: he has miscopied the Greek *Vorlage* and not inserted τοῖς ἄστροις in chapter 3.1 of the *Apology*. Although this is the only example I have found of the redactor mis-copying the *Vorlage*, there may be further examples if a full lexical comparison between the *Apology* and *B&I* took place.

In the comparison between chapter 7 of *B&I* and the *Apology*, we learn that some of the language in chapter 7 has been taken from the *Apology* as elsewhere in *B&I* the redactor prefers alternative words: for example συγκλείσαντες is used in chapter 7, whereas in other chapters of *B&I* he uses προσεκύνησαν; θεωρήσας in the *Apology* is replaced by the redactor’s preferred κατανοήσας; ἀγάλματα (*Apology*) is replaced with εἰδώλοις. What I discovered is how much the redactor draws information from the *Apology* and expand upon it: for example the use of ‘laws of Christ’, which appears in the *Apology*, is replicated and enlarged in different contexts throughout *B&I*. Further ideas borrowed from the *Apology* include: παντοκράτωρ (*B&I* 31); μορφώματα (*B&I* 7); ‘there were gods that were male, and gods that were female’ (*B&I* 7); ‘they grope as if in the dark’ (*B&I* 7).

Similarly, I discovered in the second section of chapter 2 of this study, that the redactor, in discussing the different races of humanity, borrows ideas only located in the

⁸¹⁹ See J. Sonet, *Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaphat* (1949): 67-8; A. D’Alès, ‘L’Apologie d’Aristide’ (1924): 354; M. Picard, *L’apologie* (1892): 16; J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* (1891): 71.

Apology. The use of στοιχεῖα; the ‘Chaldeans’; γένος (in relation to discussing a particular race, like that of the Chaldeans); Ares, Aphrodite and Dionysius; the ‘Jews’ were ideas all borrowed from the *Apology*. However the redactor was not just aware of the *Apology* content, in fact the redactor was well versed in the contents of the *Apology*: this is evident in both comparisons between chapter 7 and 31 of *B&I* with the *Apology*. Previous research has never asked whether the *Apology* and the novel of *B&I* are deeply intertwined, or not. What is more striking is the evidence which I discovered: the redactor appears to not change the *Apology*, adding very little to it. Instead, the redactor prefers to draw information from the *Apology* and place it elsewhere into the novel.

I discovered how the redactor of *B&I* has not changed any meaningful theological content within the *Apology*, whether this is the non-editing of ἐν to σὸν, or the non-addition of topics which appear throughout *B&I* but not in the *Apology*: the use of ‘Trinity’ and ‘Father’; Λόγος theology; the use of biblical quotations; baptism; Satan and devils; angels; Catholic Church and Orthodox Faith; ‘The Faithful’; Θεοτόκος; Incarnation. All of these very prominent Christian ideas do not at all feature in the *Apology*! If this is the case, how remarkable it would be for the redactor of *B&I* to shorten the *Apology* from contents similar to the Syriac version (which the evidence contrarily disagrees with), but for the redactor to not then insert these key Christian ideas into the *Apology*’s text. Unless the redactor did not do so for one reason: he wanted to preserve the text. Indeed, although we have evidence the redactor may have inserted some small theological ideas, or context references into the *Apology*,⁸²⁰ he has not wanted to change the theological position of the text, keeping it intact.

In the final section of chapter 2 I discussed how the redactor of *B&I* uses other external sources: does the redactor insert other external sources wholly unchanged, or does the redactor ad hoc insert and remove what he prefers? In short, what we discovered is that the redactor does both, although it appears the redactor treats the insertion of the Bible with greater care than he does with other sources. That is not to say the redactor has not handled the *Apology* with care, as on the contrary, the evidence says he has handled the *Apology* with care and copied it with the utmost diligence.

This then leads us into the third and final chapter of this study where I then compared the Greek fragments with the Greek *B&I* and Syriac. This has great

⁸²⁰ We remind ourselves that the redactor may have contextually added at the end of the *Apology* praises of ‘the wise choice’ of the king’s son (J.R. Harris and J.A. Robinson, *Apology of Aristides* [1891]: 70), as well as the possible removal of an address which existed in the Greek *Vorlage*.

importance for the following reasons: there is the presumption that the papyrological evidence holds the earlier text form of the *Apology* (and therefore the most reliable in it being comparable to the ‘original’ *Apology*). Second, although there has been some scholarly discussion (as previously discussed) on the papyrological evidence, Syriac and Greek *B&I* version, not one scholar has viewed this in the light of how the Greek *B&I* version may have been impacted by the redactor of *B&I*. Indeed, no scholar has looked at the text reception history of the Greek *B&I* version and how the *Apology* and the rest of the *B&I* novel inter-relate with one another. Although text reception history is a study of more recent years, it is astounding that the most recent critical editors of the *Apology* have not looked at the impact this (that is the relation between *B&I* and the *Apology*) may have on the *Apology* and have just presumed, like scholarship before them, that the differences are down to the redactor of *B&I*. The evidence which I have discovered says the contrary!

Beyond the need for a new stemma, I discovered in the third and final chapter that there is some further questioning needed to be had of the reliability of Volk’s so-called ‘Urtext’ manuscripts because there are small editions in the Greek fragments which agree with a number of Volk’s other manuscripts, but not in the Urtext manuscripts. What I can categorically conclude from this section is the opposite to previous scholarship: the differences between the Syriac and Greek *B&I* was not because of the redactor of *B&I*. There is some suggestion in places the Greek *B&I* version suffered some alterations to the *Vorlage*, before it was copied into *B&I*. What is more true, however, is that there are sections which suggest the Syriac has enlarged the *Apology* text.⁸²¹ Until now, scholarship has claimed this to be the case, however I have now *proved* these assumptions to be true based on the evidence which can be learnt from the text reception of the Greek *B&I*.

The findings of this study advance the study of the *Apology* of Aristides dramatically. This, as stated, aimed to be the first layer of peeling away the Greek version of the *Apology* away from the novel of *B&I*. I have accomplished this task. However because of the scope of such a study I have not been able to analyse every single word in the *Apology*. Instead I have tackled some of the key issues and debates like the discussion on whether there was originally three or four races of mankind,

⁸²¹ See B. Pouderon and M.-J. Pierre, *Apologie* (2003): 144-5 for instances where the Syriac supplements the Greek. See also J.A. Robinson, ‘Apology’ (1896): 32.

whilst simultaneously analysing the impact the *Apology* and *B&I* have on one another. Let us draw some final conclusions from this study.

Conclusion

The text of Aristides' *Apology*, as I originally described it, provides a big challenge to scholarship which cannot simply be approached from text-critical perspectives. In addition to such efforts, the study hopes to show that without a history of transmission of the text (or texts) in their various manuscript traditions, we cannot come to text-critical decisions. A text-critical endeavour has not been undertaken here, but rather I have attempted in this study to provide a firmer basis from which such work could be done in the future. A first major achievement of the study, then, is the correction of the stemma, recently established by Pouderon and Pierre, by splitting the Greek fragments and re-aligning P.Oxy and P.Heidel with the Greek *B&I* and placing P.London with the Syriac.⁸²² A special study would need to compare the Armenian text in the light of the findings of this study.

In the previous chapters, we separated out, to some degree at least, the complex structures and layers of the *B&I* version of the *Apology* and contextualised it with the framework novel. We have seen how the original Buddhist *B&I* text became an ascetic Christian novel. From its birth to the Christian version, the novel went through a number of textual, cultural and language changes; however, despite this, some of the original Buddhist content remains in the Greek *B&I* version. Through gaining a critical understanding of the textual tradition of the *Apology* and *B&I* it has been possible to separate the *Apology* from *B&I* and to treat it as a distinct text. As has been shown, however, this is more difficult than scholars dealing with the *Apology* have admitted to their readers yet; even the scholars' own deep understanding of the *Apology* seems to have vastly underestimated the complexity of the *B&I* version.

The *Apology* plays a vital role in *B&I*, not only in terms of how it is used in chapter 27 (its context and relation to the rest of the novel), but also in how the redactor draws information from the *Apology* and places it elsewhere in the novel: for example, we have seen that in chapters 7 and 31 of *B&I* the redactor clearly borrows ideas from the *Apology*. However, in doing so he does not move through the *Apology* in linear fashion; instead he jumps from one chapter of the *Apology* to another, indicating how

⁸²² If the stemma was correct then the Syriac translator has largely corrupted the text. This I have proven to be, at times, evident in a number of comparisons throughout this study: for example, the Syriac translator/redactor has altered the text and chose 'grace' instead of 'providence' (which is in the Armenian and Greek *B&I* version). Based on the stemma it would be unlikely that 'grace' was part of Gr3 and that the Armenian by chance had changed it and aligned itself to the Gr2 tradition, except we have to reckon with a contamination of the two traditions.

familiar he is with its content. Clearly, the redactor of *B&I* was influenced by the contents of the *Apology*, but the question which remains thus far unanswered is ‘why does the redactor of *B&I* rephrase and insert different ideas contained within the *Apology* into chapters 7 and 31 of the *B&I* novel?’ Chapter 2.E of this study outlined other external sources which the redactor of *B&I* relies on. Beyond the *Apology* and the Bible, the redactor of the *B&I* novel also draws heavily upon the texts of Symeon Metaphrastes and John of Damascus’ *Expositio Fidei*. Nevertheless, what we can discern from the evidence presented in Volk’s critical edition of the novel is that there is no other text of a similar length as the *Apology* which is in multiple locations throughout *B&I*.

What is the aim of chapters 7 to 12 of *B&I*? Are they similar to the *Apology*? The same could be asked for chapter 31 of *B&I* since chapters 7-12 find no parallel in the Georgian version as attested by appendix 1, and are designed for someone to understand the Christian faith. The *Apology* contents are then well placed in chapter 7 and chapter 31. The use of the contents of the *Apology* would make one presume the redactor did not have any other external source to hand with contents which resemble that of the *Apology*’s. However, we know from the evidence that in chapter 31 of *B&I* the redactor does use *Epistula ad Diognetum*. Therefore, is there a reason why the redactor quotes the *Apology* here and not elsewhere? In both cases, the redactor is discussing and rebuffing the belief and worship of idols. There are, however, three other examples which rebuff the worship of idols in chapters 24, 25 and 32 of *B&I*: none of which use a source like either the *Apology* or *Epistulam ad Diognetum*. Clearly the redactor shows favour to the *Apology* over the *Epistulam ad Diognetum* as he does not use this anywhere else in *B&I*, and yet we cannot discern any particular reason for this.

Chapter 2 of the study began by looking at how the *Apology* has impacted *B&I*; however by the end of that chapter, the focus had shifted to how the redactor of *B&I* has impacted the *Apology*. The evidence suggests that the answer to the latter question is: astonishingly little. Yet there appears to be conflicting evidence as we found evidence to suggest that the redactor has made small changes and added content to the *Apology*.⁸²³

A number of questions remain unanswered. For example, some theological ideas (such as Λόγος theology and the Trinity) as well as basic Christian concepts (such as

⁸²³ For example, the redactor has inserted δημιουργόν, εὐδόκησεν and ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθορως (see the sixteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth comparison – respectively – in the comparison between *B&I* 7 and the *Apology*).

baptism and referring to God as Father) are absent from the *Apology*. If the redactor inserted notions such as the demiurge, why did he not insert other, more obvious, ideas? When we look at the way the redactor has treated other sources there are only a handful of texts that have been inserted without significant changes,⁸²⁴ and even then, some changes have been made. It could be said that the redactor has treated the *Apology* very differently to these texts. Perhaps it was the room for this external quote, Nachor's speech, which provided a predesignated place where he could insert the *Apology* without the need to change any of its basic content to fit contextually into his design of the novel of *B&I*.

The evidence of the third chapter of this study is highly significant: the relation between the Greek *B&I* version of the *Apology* in comparison to the P.Oxy and P.Heidel fragments is entirely different to the relation between the Greek *B&I* version and the P.London fragment. The evidence of chapter 3 enabled me to suggest a revised stemma for the *Apology*.⁸²⁵ Yet, to provide a critical edition, based on the new stemma would go beyond the present study.

The 'multilayeredness' of the *Apology* remains evident, and there are redactional stages yet to be understood and assessed, before a textcritical edition in historical perspective should be undertaken. To present the various versions separately, as done in the most recent edition of Pouderon and Pierre, is of little help and especially the groupings of the three papyri fragments into one tradition needs to be corrected. I have shown to what extent a) early texts are reliable despite transmissions and translations, b) to what extent the opposite is true as well, that all these texts in whichever form we have them, are products of transmission, and therefore need extremely careful handling and any assumption of them being 'original' is problematic, c) in this particular case, I have shown that the existing stemma which is provided by Pouderon and Pierre was in need of correction, d) that we have to split the tradition of the Greek papyri and that the assumption of the papyri being 'old' is naive. Furthermore, the construction of a stemma and a history that concentrates on the myth of papyri being by nature older, and that P.London is the best fragment we have (because it agrees with the Syriac), is wrong.

⁸²⁴ For example John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* 36 and *B&I* 15, *Expositio Fidei* 86 and *B&I* 19; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Martyrium SS. Sergii et Bacchi* 6 – 7 and *B&I* 12, *Vita S. Gregorii Illuminatoris* 10 and *B&I* 21, *Martyrium S. Catharinae* 4 and *B&I* 32; *Matthew* 25 and *B&I* 9; *Hebrews* 4 and *B&I* 9, *Galatians* 5 and *B&I* 11; 1 *Peter* 1 and *B&I* 20; Gregory Nazianzenus *Orationes* 19 and *B&I* 15.

⁸²⁵ Which is located in chapter 1.B.iv of this study.

While a text-critical edition will hardly produce the ‘original’ text of the *Apology*, it will at least give us a version which would date back to around the time of the Greek P.Oxy and P.Heidel, based on these, the Greek *B&I* version, the Syriac (together with P.London) and the Armenian version.

However, it is clear that the best stage that we can reach with this stemma is the fourth century, hence we can only attain a stage of the text which is more or less like the *B&I* without the clear additions of the latter's redactor. What happened to the *Apology* before this time can only be guessed. A look into the much shorter version of the Armenian teaches that this text *could* have been much shorter. Hence, it is possible that there was a substantial broadening going on sometime in the fourth century.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Text comparison between the Georgian and Greek B&I

Georgian	Greek
<p>1.1 Describes Abenes (henceforth, the king) and how much he hated the Christians.</p> <p>1.2 Christian holy monks ‘began to detest the transitory world’ which gave the king concern, so he persecuted them.</p> <p>1.3 A certain knight of the king’s comes to him and there is a long discourse between them on Christianity and the world.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The king banishes him and then persecutes the Christians more.</p> <p>1.4 The king has a child called Iodasaph (henceforth, I) - and the king gathers astrologers to</p> <p style="text-align: center;">determine the child’s future. They say he will not attain the glory of this world (i.e. he will become a Christian). Orders a city to be built apart and for his son to live in it.</p> <p>1.5 Declares if after three days Christians are found in the city they shall be burnt.</p>	<p>1 Thomas goes to India. King Abenner (henceforth, the king) and his idolatry.</p> <p>The king persecutes ‘the Faithful’ - monks who either suffered martyrdom or hid in the deserts/mountains.</p> <p>2 Chief satrap of royal household became a Christian - joined the monks with fasting, vigils and study. The king became angry at this and apprehended him. A long discourse between the king and chief satrap ensues - how he was delivered from sin - tries to convince the king of his (the king’s) errors - shows how great Christ is with some doctrine - shows how bad the world is. King banished the chief satrap and persecuted the monks more fiercely.</p> <p>The king had a child called Ioasaph (henceforth, I). King went to offer sacrifices.</p> <p>3 Those who were schooled in the star-lore of the Chaldeans came to the king and to prophesy. They say that the Child will embrace ‘a better kingdom’ (i.e. the Christian religion). Kings build separate palace for the child to set him apart so the child could not hear about Christ.</p> <p>Sent men to proclaim that all monks in the city and in the country have three days to leave.</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>A counsellor kept his faith secret for fear of the king. He finds a man who is wounded underneath a tree who is a 'patcher of words' and takes him home to be treated. But envious and maligned persons tells the king of how the counsellor is a Christian. King does not believe them - but the king makes a trial of the counsellor and the truth comes out - the king becomes angry and the counsellor goes away. Counsellor goes to physician for help - regains the king's favour.</p>	<p>4 A man at court kept his faith secret for fear of the king - he finds a 'physician of words' hurt in the woods and takes him home to be treated. But 'envious and maligned persons' tells the king of how the Senator is a Christian. King does not believe them - but the king makes a trial of him and the truth comes out - the king becomes angry and the senator goes away. Senator goes to physician for help - regains the king's favour.</p>
<p>1.6 The king asks two Christians why they are leaving the city and is enraged by what they say so burns them. 'Thenceforth the burning of dead bodies became a custom among the pagans in the land of India.'</p>	<p>Whilst hunting the king comes across two monks crossing the desert and he burns them. None of the monastic order are left except those who hid. -</p>
<p>1.7 I grows old and wants to know why he has been imprisoned. I tutor tell him the truth about everything. -</p>	<p>5 I grows old and wants to know why he has been imprisoned. I's tutor tell him the truth about everything - and 'the word of salvation' took a hold of him.</p>
<p>1.8 I asks the king to be released as he does not enjoy his imprisonment - the king lets him be free and I frequently goes into the city. I meets a blind man, another maimed, another old and feeble - he becomes distressed at what he sees and hears (but when he sees the king he appears happy, but is in fact not). I asks his tutor more about the Christian faith and from then on detested all things of the world.</p>	<p>I asks the king to be released as he does not enjoy his imprisonment - the king lets him be free and I went abroad. I meets a blind man, another maimed, another old and feeble - he becomes distressed at what he sees and hears (but when he sees the king he appears happy, but is in fact not). I asks for the tutor's help - if the tutor knew of someone who could help him however the tutor remarks of how the king has persecuted and killed all those who could possibly have helped him.</p>
<p>2.9 Introduces Balahvar (henceforth, B) who hears about I's acts of detesting pleasures of the earth and a thirst for faith</p>	<p>6 Introduces Barlaam (henceforth, B) who was 'graced in word and deed, a model follower of every monastic rule' who learnt through 'divine revelation' of I's</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>goes to I and pretends to be a merchant which gains him access to I.</p> <p>2.10 B says that before I will receive what he has brought he must first test him. [Second Fable: The Sower, see below]</p> <p>2.11 First Fable: The Trumpet of death: The Four Caskets.</p> <p>2.12 First Fable: The Trumpet of death: The Four Caskets.</p> <p>2.13 Second Fable: The Sower.</p> <p>-</p>	<p>position and went to his country. B pretended to be a merchant which gains him access to see I.</p> <p>B says that before I will receive what he has brought he must first test him. B tells I the Parable of the Sower and I asks B to impart his wisdom.</p> <p>Apologue One: The King's brother and the Trumpet of Death</p> <p>Apologue Two: Of the four Caskets</p> <p>[Parable of the Sower, see above]</p> <p>7 B tells I of the evil of the devil. Goes though the story of Genesis and the garden of Eden. God destroyed the world because of the evils of men.</p> <p>8 I rejoices at what he hears and asks to hear more about baptism that the "Faithful receive" - which B tell him all about. I asks many more questions which B answers, mainly through what is in the Bible - and he then talks about the "Holy Gospels" and they were written down by the Apostles. Discussion about the second coming and the resurrection of the dead. Discussion about heaven and Gehenna.</p> <p>9 I asks where is the proof to what B has just said. Those that spoke the sayings by signs and wonders and miracles also spoke of the future - this is also confirmed by what Christ said and what he did - for</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>[Eleventh Fable: The Fowler and the Nightingale, see below.]</p> <p>[B confessing his faith in the Holy Trinity, see below]</p> <p>-</p>	<p>example the raising of Lazarus as well as Jesus' own resurrection. This is further shown to I using Pauline scripture - including the rewards and the punishments. B starts speaking to I about different parables in the Bible.</p> <p>10</p> <p>I wants to know how he can 'escape punishment'. B declares the way of salvation by what the Apostle Peter once said.</p> <p>Apologue Three: The Fowler and the Nightingale.</p> <p>B confesses his faith in the Holy Trinity and tells I of the doom of sinners and the blessings of the righteous.</p> <p>11</p> <p>I declares his faith and asks to be baptised (denounces idolatry). B describes what he must do after he is baptised - he must not be after the flesh (lists what he must not do) but instead after the fruits of the Spirit (lists what he must receive) and that he must do good works and that he must not become impure after his first baptism, and to speak the commands of Christ. B tells I of how the Gospel is better than the law of Moses. I asks B about sins committed after baptism - B says that repentance with the 'fount of tears' is possible.</p> <p>Parable of the Prodigal Son, Good Shepherd as well as the rise and fall of Peter.</p> <p>12</p> <p>I is still concerned on how to prevent himself from falling and B tells him about the temptations of life in this world.</p> <p>Martyrdom is another form of baptism as it imitates Christ - it also means additional glories. B tells I of the hermits: their poverty, self-denial, aim and hope, and commends their purity of life as well as their love towards God and man. B</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>2.14 Third Fable: The Man and the Elephant.</p>	<p>describes hermits dwellings. B tells I of monastic orders and their rules, and angelic life and are called blessed because of their sufferings. B contrasts this blessedness to the falseness and misery of the world (which is vain and treacherous). Apologue Four: The Man and the Unicorn.</p>
<p>2.15 - Fourth Fable: The Man and his Three Friends.</p>	<p>13 I hears everything with joy Apologue Five: the Man and his Three friends.</p>
<p>2.16 Fifth Fable: The King for One Year.</p>	<p>14 Apologue Six: The City that had Strangers for its Kings</p>
<p>2.17 I acknowledges Christ and a discussion on the previous fable (which is a parable to how the king treats Christians).</p>	<p>B then bewails at the vain restlessness of human life and tells I the way of peace. B describes how he was called out of the world and tells I how he can lay up himself his treasure in heaven.</p>
<p>2.18 Sixth Fable: Dogs and Carrion.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>2.19 Seventh Fable: Physician and Patient.</p>	
<p>2.20 B tells I about how he came to decide to rid himself of earthly pleasures - which is given by God.</p>	<p>15 B describes the virtue of almsgiving - which Christ commands. B tells the story where Christ tells all to sell everything to follow him.</p>
<p>2.21 Eighth Fable: The Sun of Wisdom. -</p>	<p>It is the vanity of men who will not obey this call by Christ (who are like those who shut their eyes against the light of sun). B defines free will and choice and that virtue lies within our power.</p>
<p>2.22 I asks about others who are like Balahvar and he tells him of other Christians.</p>	<p>16 I asks if B is the only one that preaches such hatred of the world and B tells him that elsewhere there are others who preach such things but in this country such things are spoken because of the king.</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>2.23 Ninth Fable: The King and the Poor Couple. I wants to flee from the world.</p>	<p>Apologue Seven: The King and His Counsellor that Went Abroad in the City to See the Sights. I wants to flee from the world.</p>
<p>2.24 Tenth Fable: The Rich Youth and the Poor Maiden.</p>	<p>Apologue Eight: The Young Man that Fled from a Rich and Noble Bride.</p>
<p>2.25 I questions B a bit more about being a Christian and asks B's age (12 years).</p>	<p>[B's age (45 years), see below]</p>
<p>2.26 Eleventh fable: The Fowler and the Nightingale. B confesses his faith and gives I the creed.</p>	<p>[Apologue Three: The Fowler and the Nightingale, see above] [B confessing his faith see above]</p>
<p>2.27 What deeds are pleasing to God. Another statement of hating and detesting this world.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>2.28 B talks about salvation - wisdom and virtue are greater than food.</p>	
<p>2.29 Discussion on how to recognise heretical Christian sects. How to resist the devil.</p>	<p>17 B prays that I's eyes can also be opened to see the glory of God. That glory is manifest in man as well as in creation. B proves that the world subsists by divine providence which passes all of man's understanding.</p>
<p>2.30 Teleological argument for God's existence.</p>	
<p>2.31 I asks B how do you know there's a resurrection of the dead.</p>	
<p>2.32 God will send apostles and prophets who's word will make the truth known and distinguish them from the liars.</p>	<p>18 I thanks B and enquires about him. Tells I he is 45 years (which is since he became a Christian, when he is in fact around 70). B</p>
<p>[B's age (12 years), see above]</p>	

Georgian	Greek
<p>[Thirteenth Fable: The Costume of Enemies, see below]</p> <p>[Twelfth Fable: The tame Gazelle, see below]</p> <p>[Spiritual wealth, see below]</p> <p>-</p>	<p>tells I of what he did after the desert, his attire - and I asks to see his attire and weeps at the sight of it.</p> <p>Apologue Nine: The tame Gazelle that herded with the wild.</p> <p>I weeps and wants to give alms to B and his companions but B forbids this and shows that he and his companions have true wealth (i.e. spiritual wealth versus financial wealth). B tells I to give his wealth to the poor and win the blessing of the Lord.</p> <p>19</p> <p>B prepares I for baptism by instructing him on the trinity which I must accept unquestioningly. The passion of Christ as well as the Eucharist. I is baptised.</p> <p>B gives thanks and bids I to walk worthy of his calling. I to present his soul spotless before God and beware of evil things.</p> <p>20</p> <p>B bids that I will pray to God and tells him about the power of prayer, as shown in the psalm of David and puts men into heaven. B then reminds I again of his redemption.</p>
<p>2.33</p> <p>Zadan (a tutor of I) becomes troubled about B's visits, so I hid Zadan on B's next visit to hear their discourse. B teaches I about the passing world.</p>	<p>21</p> <p>Zardan (a tutor of I) becomes troubled about B's visits, so I hid Zardan on B's next visit to hear their discourse. B teaches I the teachings of the Catholic (ὁρθόδοξον) Faith.</p>
<p>2.34</p> <p>Zadan tells I how he likes the idea of Christianity but is faithful to the king. I asks Zadan not to tell the king.</p>	<p>Zardan is afraid of the king although likes Christianity.</p> <p>I pleads to Zardan not to tell the king.</p>
<p>2.35</p> <p>Twelfth Fable: The tame Gazelle.</p>	<p>[Apologue Nine: The tame Gazelle, see above]</p>
<p>2.36</p> <p>The wealth of the Christian (i.e. spiritual wealth being greater than financial wealth</p>	<p>[Spiritual wealth, see above]</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>- saying that I is in fact poor).</p> <p>2.37 Thirteenth Fable: The Costume of Enemies - how B wears clothes.</p> <p>2.38 I offers his garments for B (B refuses as they would be a reward for his pious act) so I gives B an old garment in exchange for B's habit.</p> <p>2.39 B departs instructions on how I should live his life.</p> <p>2.40 B departs from I.</p> <p>3.41 Zadan becomes troubled at the way I behaves and feigns sickness but the physician cannot detect a disease (tells the king that it is a sickness of the spirit). Zadan visits the king and tells him of B's visits.</p> <p>3.42 The King calls for Rakhis and Rakhis plots for the king by capturing B and if not to get Nakhor to pretend to be B.</p> <p>3.43 Rakhis finds a group of hermit, one of them carrying bones which are relics. -</p> <p>The king receives the monks and asks them about the relics. The monk rebukes the king when</p>	<p>[The costume of enemies message, see above] B takes his leave in fear of the king</p> <p>and still refuses even a gift for himself from I (last time I offered a gift to B as well as his fellow monks). Instead I took the hair shirt of B's and gave in return another hair shirt to him.</p> <p>B gives I his last lesson. I laments at the loss of B. B prays a final prayer with I,</p> <p>and leaves.</p> <p>22 Zardan becomes troubled at the way I behaves and feigns sickness but the physician cannot detect a disease (tells the king that it is a sickness of the spirit). Zardan visits the king and tells him of B's visits.</p> <p>The king calls his counsellor Araches and he plots how to recover I's idolatry (by capturing B and if not get a man named Nachor to pretend to be B and plead the cause of the Christians, but shall be shown the error of his ways and converted back to idolatry). The king sends out Araches to find B. Araches captures a bands of monks (one of them carrying a wallet of hair, a relic of a previous holy Father) and asks them about B. The monks defy Araches and he tortures them and then sends them to the king</p> <p>23 The king receives the monks and beats them and asks about the relic in the wallet. The monk rebukes the king when</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>the king is not able to find sufficient response in what the monk originally stated.</p> <p>-</p> <p>The king ordered that their hands and feet lopped off and eyes dug out (but not killed).</p> <p>3.44</p> <p>Rakhis went and found Nakhor (told him what to do) and he was discovered by the king on the road</p> <p>Barakhia knew of Nakhor and went to tell I that it was not B whom was captured.</p> <p>3.45</p> <p>The king pleads with I to renounce Christianity whom B has deceived him into, and return to the worship of his (the king's) gods. I responds to the king's pleading quite boldly and confesses his Christian faith and makes a standpoint of how he must abstain form all idolatry and so must the king do also. The king gets very angry and casts numerous reproaches upon I. I tries to calm the king down and then show him the vanity of his present power and pleasures, and shows the surety and steadfastness of the things which are eternal. The king departs from I in sorrow.</p> <p>-</p> <p>3.46</p> <p>The king returns quite sorrowful and seeks to make things right with I.</p> <p>-</p> <p>The king tells I how all his forefathers were idolaters and for I to inherit the kingdom he must be one too and thus lays a trap. I saw the trap</p> <p>- I tells the</p>	<p>the king is not able to find sufficient response in what the monk originally stated.</p> <p>The monk and king argue with one another, retorting what the other has said. The monks are tortured and killed through torture.</p> <p>24</p> <p>Araches went and found Nachor the sorcerer who was to make himself to be Barlaam, and brought him before the king. I hears of fake B's capture but hears of the truth in a vision.</p> <p>The king pleads with I to renounce Christianity whom B has deceived him into, and return to the worship of his (the king's) gods. I responds to the king pleading quite boldly and confesses his Christian faith and makes a standpoint of how he must abstain form all idolatry and so must the king do also. The king gets very angry and casts numerous reproaches upon I. I tries to calm the king down and then show him the vanity of his present power and pleasures, and shows the surety and steadfastness of the things which are eternal. The king departs from I in anger.</p> <p>25</p> <p>I prays for strength and comfort (evokes ideas within the psalms).</p> <p>The king visits I again and pleads tenderly to him to return to his old ways and claims that he has sought a variety of different religions conversing with some who are called Christians but settled upon the truth of idol-worship and begs I again to return to his old ways. The king lays a trap saying that the son will inherit his kingdom</p> <p>but I sees the trap</p> <p>and prays for strength. I then convicts the</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>king of his error and warns him what will happen when he and all other mortals have left their worldly glory</p> <p>and the king goes away to think about what I has said. In the end he offers an assembly to discuss the issues</p> <p>3.47 Only Barakhia came to help B defend Christianity.</p> <p>I speaks to Nakhor begging him to do well, Nakhor decides to defend Christianity well.</p> <p>When Nakhor heard these words of Ioadasaph's he realized that he had fallen into the snare which he himself had dug, and perceived the evil fate and perdition which faced him, now that death threatened him from both side. He saw that his only hope of avoiding doom lay in employing his whole heart and strength to support and advocate the creed of Balahvar, and thereby pacify the king's son. He was confident that the king would parson him, in view of the plot they had framed together.</p> <p>-</p>	<p>king of a grievous error and warned him of the approach of Doomsday when the powers of the heavens will be shaken and the wicked shall receive their punishment and the righteous their reward.</p> <p>26 The king thinks about what I has said. The king offers to hold a debate on the truth of his religion - the king then summons Christians and idolaters to the trial.</p> <p>Only Barachias came to help Barlaam defend Christianity. The king sat as judge and reminds all of the greatness of the issue. I speaks to Nachor telling him the seriousness of this and Nachor then dreads the resolve of I to pleads his cause in good faith. When Nachor heard these words, he was exceeding sorrowful and downcast, seeing himself falling into the destruction that he had made for other, and being drawn into the net that he had laid privily, and feeling the sword entering into his own soul. So he took counsel with himself, and determined rather to take the side of the king's son, and make it to prevail, that he might avoid the danger hanging over him, because the prince was doubtless able to requite him, should he be found to provoke him. But this was all the work of divine providence that was wisely establishing our cause by the mouth of our adversaries. For when these idol-priests and Nachor crossed words, like another Barlaam, who, of old in the time of Balak, when purposing to curse Israel, loaded him with manifold blessings, so did Nachor mightily resist these unwise and unlearned wise men. There sat the king upon his throne, his son beside him, as we have said. There beside him stood these unwise orators who had whetted their tongues like a sharp sword, to destroy truth, and who (as saith Esay) conceive mischief and bring forth iniquity.</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>-</p> <p>(3.47 continued)</p> <p>So Nakhor opened his lips and began to denounce the idols and their acolytes and then to praise the faith of the Christians and their sacred laws. Such a pitch of devastating eloquence did his speech attain, with such cogency of repartee, that even Balahvar himself could not have equalled it, nor could any of the devotees of the idols refute Nakhor on a single point in his oration.</p>	<p>There were gathered innumerable multitudes, come to view the contest and see which side should carry off the victory. Then one of the orators, the most eminent of all his fellows, said unto Nachor, "Art thou that Barlaam which hath so shamelessly and audaciously blasphemed our gods, and hath enmeshed our king's well beloved son in the net of error, and taught him to serve the Crucified?" Nachor answered, "I am he, I am Barlaam, that, as thou sayest, doth set your gods at nought: but the king's son have I not enmeshed in error; but rather from error have I delivered him, and brought him to the true God." The orator replied, "When the great and marvellous men, who have discovered all knowledge of wisdom, do call them high and immortal gods, and when all the kings and honourable men upon earth do worship and adore them, how waggest thou tongue against them, and, in brief, how durst thou be so mighty brazen-faced? What is the manner of thy proof that the Crucified is God, and these be none?" Then replied Nachor, disdaining even to answer the speaker. He beckoned with his hand to the multitude to keep silence, and opening his mouth, like Balaam's ass, spake that which he had not purposed to say, and thus addressed the king.</p> <p>27</p> <p>By the providence of God, O king, came I into the world; ...</p> <p><i>The Apology of Aristides</i></p> <p>...in order that ye may escape punishment, and be found partakers of deathless life.</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>(3.47 continued)</p> <p>At this the blessed Iodasaph was joyful in spirit. His face became radiant through the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he thanked and glorified the grace of the Holy Spirit, and he thanked and glorified God, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who had fortified His religion through the mouth of his adversaries.</p> <p>The debate continued for a long time. King Abenes was filled with indignation at Nakhor's success, but was ashamed to wreak vengeance upon him in the people's presence for dear that his own unjust behaviour should be exposed to public view. So the king reflected: 'I have brought this evil upon myself!' Thereupon the king began himself to speak and argue with Nakhor. Since he expressed himself with ho-tempered force and in angry tones, Nakhor took fright, thinking that the king resented the extent of his superiority in this debate, and this hampered him in formulating arguments. This in turn encouraged his idolaters, for Nakhor began to give way of his own accord through fear of the king. And the king and all his subjects followed the debate with bated breath. Evening drew on while the debate was still in progress, and victory was not yet made manifest on either side. The prince for his part, fearing that Nakhor would fall victim to the king's cruelty, readily forgave him for flagging in his opposition to King Abenes.</p>	<p>28</p> <p>When Nachor had fully delivered this oration, the king changed countenance for very anger, but his orators and temple-keepers stood speechless, having nothing but a few weak and rotten shreds of argument in reply. But the king's son rejoiced in spirit and with glad countenance magnified the Lord, who had made a path, where no path was, for them tat trusted in him, who by the mouth of a foeman and enemy was establishing the truth; and the leader of error had proved a defender of the right cause.</p> <p>But the king, although furiously enraged with Nachor, was nevertheless unable to do him any mischief, because of the proclamation already read before all, wherein he urged him to plead without fear in behalf of the Christians. So he himself made answer in many words, and by dark speeches hinted that Nachor should relax his resistance, and be worsted by the argument of the orators. But Nachor the more mightily prevailed, tearing to pieces all their propositions and conclusions and exposing the fallacy of their error. After the debate had been prolonged till well-nigh eventide, the king dismissed the assembly, making as though he would renew the discussion on the morrow.</p>
<p>3.47 (continued)</p> <p>The debate follows and after I tells Nakhor that he knows who he is.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Nakhor admits that he now believes in God and repents his sins.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Nakhor then departs and dwelt among the hermits. When the</p>	<p>28 (continued)</p> <p>I outwits the king and takes Nachor to his palace and blames him for his deceit (as he tells him how he knows he is Nachor and not B) but thanks him for such an excellent speech. Nachor repents of his sins and what he has done but I tells him to be of good courage as Nachor seeks out salvation. Nachor goes into the desert and is baptised by a passing monk. When the</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>king learnt about what happened to Nakhor he fell into despair and the king started to despise the idols but could not adopt the way of Christianity.</p> <p>-</p> <p>3.48 Thedma the idol priest (and hermit) goes to see the king. Thedma went to praise the king on his victory and learnt that it was a defeat.</p> <p>Fourteenth Fable: The Amorous Wife. The king makes a great feast in honour of his idols.</p> <p>3.49 Fifteenth Fable: The Youth who had never seen a Woman. The king sends women to I - and falls in love with one of them and she says she will become a Christian and follow his way of life if they can be together and get married. I tells the damsel he cannot marry. - He spends the night in vigil and has a vision and dreams about the joy of the righteous and the torment of sinners. The king visits I when he hears about the dream. -</p>	<p>king learnt about what happened to Nachor he became angry at the impotence of his own gods and starts to doubt what he used to believe but did not want to believe in the very strict Christian god because of all the worldly things he enjoyed. I then desires to see B again.</p> <p>29 The idol priests resort to Theudas the magician (who held a high favour with the king). Theudas went to the king to praise him of his victory but learnt of it as a defeat - Theudas promises the king a triumph. - The king makes a great feast in honour of his idols. Theudas plots a trap to ensnare I</p> <p>30 Apologue Ten: Devils that Deceive Men. The king sends women to I. Theudas went home to cast a spell on I and I felt the evil and temptation of sin so prayed to God and he fasted and held vigils. The devil entered one of the damsels but I is taken hold by an evil spirit whilst I tries to tell her about Christianity. She said she will become a Christian if he weds her. I tells the damsel that he is forbidden to marry but she shows I that it says in the scriptures for men and women to be married. I tells her about his chastity. She then asks him to be her leman for the night instead of her husband. Having set the trap I nearly falls into sin but then prays for deliverance and after falling asleep for many hours has a vision of the joy of righteousness and the torment of sinners. I falls sick and the king visits him.</p> <p>31 The spirits report to Theudas that they had</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>goes to see I, [Thedma</p> <p>talks with him</p> <p>is baptised, see below]</p> <p>3.50 Asks the king for him to go into the wilderness. The king then says he will give I half his kingdom.</p> <p>3.51 The king is moved by I's faith but is equally saddened and cries.</p> <p>3.52 The king thinks he has won I over a little (I yielded when the king started to cry), so the king gave over half his kingdom to I. I asks for all those who are in jail be released into his care.</p> <p>3.53 I choses a house that is not a palace but not also a poor man's house that inside is neither too majestic nor mean in appearance. [temple built, see below]</p>	<p>failed in winning over I - the spirits acknowledged that they could defeat the first man but no I. They give up. Theudas asks to go meet with I and argue with him. I denounces the wickedness of Theudas, convicting him of the wickedness of idolatry and worshipping lifeless images. I shows Theudas how the idols are nothing more than images of men's vices. I rebuffs attacks made by Theudas on Christianity and asserts the glory of Christ.</p> <p>32 Theudas claims the mighty and wise for his support. But I shows that the he does not need such people for the Gospel speak enough truth. I shows the origin of idolatry and how they came to worship the devils as gods. Theudas admits defeat and asks for a pardon. I shows Theudas hope. Theudas burns his magic books and is baptised.</p> <p>- [king offers half his kingdom, see above]</p> <p>-</p> <p>33 The king debates again over I and takes on Araches' advice. The king gives I half of his kingdom.</p> <p>-</p> <p>I builds a Christian temple in his chief city, and leads his people to the Christian Faith</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>3.54 [baptism, see below] Everything which his father gave him he sent abroad and sold and then distributed the wealth and everyone became prosperous. I builds churches.</p> <p>3.55 I's part of the kingdom became Christian and received baptism and his fame became known.</p> <p>3.56 The king is frightened that the people will rise up against him because of what his son has done. [takes council, see below] He writes to I and I responds.</p> <p>3.57 The kings counsellors, from I's response, suggest that the king hands over the other half of the kingdom to I.</p> <p>3.58 The king writes to I. I is pleased with his father's decision and asks for the kings counsellors be sent to him.</p> <p>3.59 The counsellors turn to Christianity, -</p> <p>return to the king and the king and all the people turn to Christianity also.</p> <p>3.60 Letters are exchanged between the king</p>	<p>and they all received baptism and many flocked to hear of I's teaching.</p> <p>He gave out all his wealth. [church built, see above]</p> <p>[baptism, see above] his fame outshone</p> <p>that of his father, King Abenner (and even his father's subjects turn to Christ). - 34 The king again takes council, and writes a letter to I,</p> <p>[takes council, see above] -</p> <p>renouncing his idolatry. I reads the letter and cries - he sings a (psalm like) hymn of amazement and prays for God to release the bonds of the devil. I visits his father and preaches the Gospel to him. I tells the king of the creation and the fall as well as the redemption of Christ (and his Incarnation) and the infinite love of God to man.</p> <p>35 The king denounces idolatry and becomes a Christian and everyone rejoices.</p> <p>-</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>and I and then the king burns all idol temples and</p> <p>hands over his entire realm.</p> <p>-</p> <p>3.61</p> <p>Thedma goes to see I and there are numerous questions from Thedma about Christianity which leads Thedma into becoming a Christian and is baptised.</p> <p>3.62</p> <p>Abenes becomes sick but becomes despondent. I comforts him before the king dies.</p> <p>3.63</p> <p>I buries Abenes and give thanks to God for his life but mourns for his father for seven days and distributes the rest of his wealth.</p> <p>3.64</p> <p>I tells his people that he wishes to join the monks.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">The people cry out when they hear this.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">I tells Barakhia that he is to become king. Barakhia is not happy about this.</p> <p>3.65</p> <p>I slips away in the night, leaving a letter indicating Barakhia to be king and they chase after him persuading him to stay. They realise of I's resolve and I prays for Barakhia and gives him his signet ring and leaves him with instructions on how he should show mercy to all men and forgive them of their sins.</p> <p>3.66</p> <p>I leaves his people</p> <p>goes into the desert dressed as a</p>	<p>The king burns all idolatry temples to the ground and is baptised. The Christian Faith prospered in the kingdom and the king thus handed over his kingdom and went into solitude, repenting daily.</p> <p>[Theudas goes to see I, talks to him and is baptised, see above]</p> <p>The king becomes sick until his death but before he dies he feels despondent in everything he had done but I comforts him.</p> <p>I buries his father and thanks God for his salvation but mourns for his father for seven days and distributes the rest of his wealth.</p> <p>36</p> <p>I summons an assembly and tells them that he intends to put aside his royal estate and retire to be with God. The people cry out in sorrow for I not to go and he listens to them and says that he will not leave them. I takes Barachias to one side and offers him the kingdom but Barachias refuses.</p> <p>I sneaks away in the night, leaving a letter indicating Barachias to be king but the people find out and find him. I returns but does so to make Barachias, much to the latter's disgust and resistance, king. I charges Barachias to administer his trust in God's sight, and show mercy to all men and forgive them off their sins.</p> <p>I departs from his grief stricken people.</p> <p>37</p> <p>I goes into the desert and went as a</p>

Georgian	Greek
<p>hermit - and went into the land of Sarandib.</p> <p>Searches for B and found him after two years search. - B cries with happiness and asks what I has done. I tells B everything that had happened and they gave thanks to God.</p> <p>3.67 After a few days - B died and I was sad.</p> <p>I places B in a grotto where he lived and dreamt about two crowns: one for him and one for his father as well as B showing the riches which he will have.</p> <p>3.68 I soon passed away too and a holy man buries him with B.</p> <p>Barakhia went and found I and B and took away their bodies and laid them to rest in a Church and those who were infirm by grievous ailments were delivered by them from the relics that wrought many miracles.</p>	<p>hermit, trying to find B. He became thirsty in the desert and was tempted by the devil in a variety of forms but conquered them all and found the land of Senaar where B dwelt.</p> <p>38 I dwelt alone in the desert for two years trying to find B and eventually met a hermit who directs I to B. B rejoices and asks what I has done. I tells him and B gives thanks and they praise God together.</p> <p>I dwells with B for many years, in an ascetic life style.</p> <p>39 B calls I to him and tells him to endure and not to faint in faith, that he should be strong, keeping himself from all arrogance and pride. I would prefer to die with B but B tells him off telling him the will of God. B sends I on an errand and bid each other the last farewell. B's last thanksgiving and prayer and dies.</p> <p>40 I places B where he lived and prays psalms. I sleeps and has a dream of the heavenly city in which B is in, and B showing the glory of his riches which I is to have.</p> <p>I spends 35 years in the desert doing many things and then dies. The hermit who had previously showed I where B was, learn of I's death and buried him with B.</p> <p>Barachias learns of I's death and brings both I and B back and lays them in I's church.</p> <p>They are made saints and their relics wrought many miracles.</p>

Appendix 2 - Five text comparison of the *Apology*

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>Again, the apology which Aristides, the philosopher made before Hadrian the king concerning the worship of God.</p> <p>[To the Emperor] Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, from Marcianus Aristides, a philosopher of Athens.</p> <p>(1.1) I, O king, by the grace of God came into this world; and having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world</p>	<p>To the Emperor Hadrian Caesar, from Aristides, philosopher of Athens.</p> <p>(1.1) I, O king, was created by the providence of God, entered this world and saw the Heaven, the earth and the sea, the sun, the moon and the stars and all the creatures and was astonished and aware that the world must</p>	<p>(1.1) Ἐγώ, βασιλεῦ, προνοίᾳ θεοῦ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον· καὶ θεωρήσας τὸν οὐρανόν, γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐθαύμασα τὴν διακόσμησιν τούτων. Ἴδὼν δὲ τὸν κόσμον</p>	<p>(1.1) Ego, imperator, prouidentia Dei ueni in mundum et aspexi celum, terram mareque, solem lunamque et reliqua amiratus sum ornationem eorum, considerans-que mundum</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that he that moveth them is God who is hidden in them and concealed from them: and this is well known, that that which moveth is more powerful than that which is moved.</p> <p>And that I should investigate concerning this Mover of all, as to how He exists - for this is evident to me, for He is incomprehensible in His nature - and that I should dispute concerning the steadfastness of His government, so as to</p>	<p>be driven and moved by</p> <p>God</p> <p>who is the creator of all for he who is powerful moves that what is powerful. Seek him</p> <p>who is provident and drives everything.</p> <p>For me it seems very difficult and unachievable</p> <p>to scrutinize him,</p>	<p>καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα ὅτι κατὰ ἀνάγκην κινεῖται, συνῆκα τὸν κινούντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα εἶναι θεόν·</p> <p>πᾶν γὰρ τὸ κινούν ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ κινουμένου</p> <p>καὶ τὸ διακρατοῦν ἰσχυρότερον τοῦ διακρατουμένου ἐστίν.</p>	<p>et ea que in eo sunt omnia, quoniam necessitate mouentur, intellexi mouentem gubernantem esse Deum.</p> <p>Omne quod tenet, potentius est illo quod mouetur,</p> <p>et quod continens, fortius illo est quod continetur.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>comprehend it fully, is not profitable for me; for no one is able perfectly to comprehend it. (1.2) But I say concerning the Mover</p> <p>of the world that</p> <p>He is God of all, who made all</p> <p>for the sake of man; and it is evident to me that this is expedient,</p> <p>that one should fear God, and not grieve man.</p> <p>Now I say that God is not begotten, not made; a constant nature,</p>	<p>and it brings no profit, because his nature is unattainable. (1.2) But we know that he</p> <p>only leads all creatures by his providence, he is the Lord and God and creator of all, who created all visual things by his kindness and granted it to humanity. Thus it is worthy to worship and glorify</p> <p>only God,</p> <p>and love each other as we would have loved ourselves. This much is known about God, it is created by itself and hence encompasses everything. He is self-generated, immortal</p>	<p>(1.2) Αὐτὸν οὖν λέγω εἶναι θεόν, τὸν σθσησάμενον τὰ πάντα καὶ διακρατοῦντα,</p>	<p>(1.2) Ipsum confiteor esse Deum qui consistit et continet omnia</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>without beginning and without end; immortal, complete, and incomprehensible: and in saying that He is complete, I mean this; that there is no deficiency in Him, and He stands in need of nought, but everything stands in need of Him: and in saying that He is without beginning, I mean this; that everything which has a beginning has also an end; and that which has an end is dissoluble. He has no name; for everything that has a name is associated with the created; He has no likeness, nor composition of members; for he who possesses this is associated with things fashioned. He is not male, nor is He female:</p>	<p>wisdom with no beginning or end perfect and forever, complete</p> <p>and self-sufficing,</p> <p>fills the need of all.</p> <p>He is with no beginning because everyone who has a beginning has also an end.</p> <p>He is with no name because things that have name are</p> <p>created. He has no colour or form</p> <p>and it will take the shape and the form in which he finds himself. It does not have a male or female</p>	<p>ἀναρχον καὶ αἰδον, ἀθάνατον</p> <p>καὶ ἀπροσδεῖ,</p> <p>ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἐλαττωμάτων,</p>	<p>sine principio, et sempiternum, immortalem</p> <p>et non indigentem,</p> <p>superiorem omnibus uitiis ac minorationibus</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>the heavens do not contain Him;</p> <p>but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in Him. Adversary He has none; for there is none that is more powerful than He;</p> <p>anger and wrath He possesses not, for there is nothing that can stand against Him. Error and forgetfulness are not in His nature,</p> <p>for He is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in Him consists all that</p>	<p>nature, it depends where it finds itself. He is not even contained by Heaven as it transcends it and the Heaven and all creatures are contained in him. There is no contrary to him, and if there is then it is one and the same. He is immobile, unlimited and without any borders as there is no place where he cannot move. He fills everywhere visible and invisible. He does not have anger or rage</p> <p>because he is a complete thinker and thus the affirmation of everything</p>	<p>ὀρηῆς</p> <p>τε καὶ λήθης καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.</p> <p>Δι' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὰ πάντα</p>	<p>furoris</p> <p>obliuionisque ac ignorantie et reliquorum.</p> <p>Per ipsum quippe cuncta</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>consists.</p> <p>He asks no sacrifice and no libation, nor any of the things that are visible; He asks not anything from anyone; but all ask from Him.</p> <p>(2.1)</p> <p>Since then it has been spoken to you by us concerning God, as far as our mind was capable of discoursing Him,</p> <p>let us now come to the race of men, in order that we may know which of them hold any part of that truth which we have spoken concerning Him, and which</p>	<p>splendid and good.</p> <p>He has no need for any sacrifice or offerings or anything visual by men</p> <p>as he should be glorified every hour.</p> <p>(2.1) I</p> <p>was granted by</p> <p>God's wisdom to utter as much as I was able to and not to the real extent of his majesty, for only with belief I can glorify and bow to him.</p> <p>Come</p> <p>human race here forth and see those who have accepted the truth which has been spoken</p>	<p>συνέστηκεν.</p> <p>Οὐ χρήζει δὲ θυσίας καὶ σπονδῶν, οὐδέ τινος πάντων τῶν φαινομένων· πάντες δὲ αὐτοῦ χρήζουσι.</p> <p>(2.1)</p> <p>Τούτων οὕτως εἰρημένων</p> <p>περὶ θεοῦ, καθὼς ἐμὲ ἐχώρησε περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν,</p> <p>ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος, ὅπως ἴδωμεν τίνες αὐτῶν μετέχουσι τῆς ἀληθείας</p>	<p>consistunt,</p> <p>non indiget sacrificio nec immolationibus nec aliquo eorum que uidentur, omnia eius utilitate egent.</p> <p>(2.1.) Hiis</p> <p>uero ita prefatis</p> <p>de</p> <p>Deo, uelut quantum capacitatis in me est referri,</p> <p>ueniamus</p> <p>deinde ad humanum genus ut inspiciamus qui sunt qui eius participant ueritate</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>be from Zeus; and from</p> <p>Helenus was born Aeolus and Xythus, and the rest of the family from Inachus and Phroneus, and last of all from Danaus the Egyptian and from Kadmus and from Dionysus.</p> <p>Moreover the Jews reckon the head of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, from whom was born Jacob, who begat twelve sons who removed from Syria and settled in Egypt, and</p>	<p>Zeus who is Theos and attribute their origin of their race to Helena</p> <p>and Xythos and later on Hellas,</p> <p>Inachous and Phoroneos and lastly to the Egyptian Danaus Kadmus from Sidonite and Dionysus of Thebain.</p> <p>The Jews attribute the origin of their race to Abraham and his son Isaac and Isaac's Jacob and Jacob's dozen who went to Assyria (Syria) and Egypt and</p>	<p>καὶ Αἰγυπτίους·</p> <p>οὗτοι γὰρ γεγόνασιν ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσι τῆς τῶν πολυωνύμων θεῶν λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως.</p>	<p>atque Egiptios.</p> <p>Hii enim fuerunt antiqui et magistri reliquarum gentium in eneratione et adoratione plurimorum deorum.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>there were called the race of the Hebrews by their lawgiver: but at last</p> <p>they were named Jews. The Christians, then, reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named the Son of God most High; and it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin took and clad Himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God.</p> <p>This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached; wherein if ye</p>	<p>there were called Hebrews by their legislator and then they went to the Promised Land where they were called Jews. The Christians attribute their origin of their race to the Lord Jesus Christ. This is him the son of God in the Heavens who appeared as the Holy Spirit and descended from heaven to a Hebrew virgin and was born taking a body form from the virgin to appear as human. The son of God who by his evangelising kindness captivated the whole world by his life giving</p> <p>preaching.</p>		

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>also will read, ye will comprehend the power that is upon it. This Jesus, then,</p> <p>was born of the tribe of the Hebrews;</p> <p>and He had twelve disciples,</p> <p>in order that a certain dispensation of His might be fulfilled.</p> <p>He was pierced by the Jews; and He died and was buried; and they say that after three days He rose and ascended to heaven; and then these twelve disciples went forth into the known parts of the world, and taught concerning His greatness</p>	<p>He is the one who was born in a flesh from the Hebrew Virgin Mary, Mother of God. He chose his twelve disciples and with his illuminating truth made the whole world his disciple</p> <p>was crucified by the Jews and</p> <p>risen from the death and ascended to Heaven. He sent his disciples all over the universe to spread/preach the wonders of God. Their teachings are until now blossoming and calling</p>		

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>with all humility and sobriety; and on this account those also who today believe in this preaching are called Christians, who are well known. There are then four races of mankind, as I said before, Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.</p> <p>To God then ministers wind, and to angels fire; but to demons water, and to men earth.</p> <p>(3.1) Let us then begin with the Barbarians, and by degrees we will proceed to the rest of the peoples, in order that we may understand which of them hold the truth concerning God, and which of them error. The</p>	<p>the whole universe to light. These are</p> <p>the four races that we present to you, O King, barbarians, Greek, Jews and Christians. and from divinity was revealed the spiritual, and from the angels fire and from the devils liquid and from earth: human race.</p>	<p>(3.1) Ἰδωμεν οὖν</p> <p>τίνες τούτων μετέχουσι</p> <p>τῆς ἀληθείας</p> <p>καὶ τίνες τῆς πλάνης. Οἱ</p>	<p>(3.1) Aspiciamus igitur</p> <p>qui sunt ex hiis qui participentur</p> <p>ueritati</p> <p>et qui errori.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>Barbarians then, inasmuch as they did not comprehend God, erred with the elements; and they began to serve created things instead of the Creator of them, and on this account they made likenesses</p> <p>and they enclosed them in temples; and lo! they worship them</p> <p>and guard them with great precaution, that their gods may not be</p>		<p>μὲν γὰρ Χαλδαῖοι</p> <p>μὴ εἰδότες θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν στοιχείων καὶ ἤρξαντο σέβεσθαι τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς·</p> <p>ὧν καὶ μορφώματά τινα ποιήσαντες ὠνόμασαν</p> <p>ἐκτύπωμα οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στοιχείων τε καὶ φωστήρων, καὶ συγκλείσαντες ναοῖς</p> <p>προσκυνοῦσι θεοὺς καλοῦντες, οὓς καὶ τηροῦσιν ἀσφαλῶς,</p> <p>ἵνα μὴ</p>	<p>Chaldei namque</p> <p>ignorantes Deum errauerunt post elementa et initiati sunt uenerari creaturam antequam creatorem qui creauit illos,</p> <p>quorum et figuras</p> <p>facientes appellauerunt ymaginationes celi terreque marisque, solis atque lune et reliquorum elementorum et luminariorum. Et concludentes eas in puluinaribus adorabant deos uocantes quos etiam custodiunt diligentius</p> <p>ne a</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>stolen by robbers; and the Barbarians have not understood that whatsoever watches must be greater than that which is watched; and that whosoever creates must be greater than that whatever is created: if so be then that their gods are too weak for their own salvation, how will they furnish salvation to mankind? The Barbarians then have erred with a great error in worshipping dead images which profit them not. (3.2) And it comes to me to wonder also, O king, at their</p> <p>philosophers, how they too have erred and have named gods those likenesses which have been made in</p>		<p>κλαπῶσιν ὑπὸ ληστῶν. Καὶ οὐ</p> <p>συνῆκαν ὅτι πᾶν τὸ τηροῦν μεῖζον τοῦ τηρουμένου ἐστὶ καὶ</p> <p>ὁ ποιῶν μεῖζων ἐστὶ τοῦ ποιουμένου· εἰ γὰρ ἀδυνατοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας, πῶς ἄλλοις σωτηρίαν χαρίσονται; Πλάνην οὖν μεγάλην ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι σεβόμενοι ἀγάλματα νεκρὰ καὶ ἀνωφελῆ. (3.2) Καὶ θαυμάζειν μοι ἐπέρχεται, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πῶς οἱ λεγόμενοι φιλόσοφοι</p>	<p>latronibus auferantur. Et non</p> <p>intellexerunt quoniam omne quod custodit fortius est illo quod custoditur et qui</p> <p>facit fortior est factura quam facit. Si enim infirmi sunt dii in sua factura atque salute, quomodo aliis ualent donare salutem? Magno itaque errauerunt Chaldei errore, colentes ymagines mortuorum inutiles. (3.2) Et ammirari michi superuenit, o imperator, quomodo sapientes ipsorum, qui dicti sunt,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>honour of the elements; and the wise men have not understood that these very elements are corruptible and dissoluble; for if a little part of the element be dissolved or corrupted, and compelled to be subject to another harder than themselves and are not in their nature gods,</p> <p>how can they call gods those likenesses</p> <p>which are made in their honour?</p> <p>Great then is the error which their philosophers have brought upon their followers.</p> <p>(4.1) Let us turn then, O king, to the elements themselves, in order that we may show</p>		<p>αὐτῶν οὐδ' ὅλως συνῆκαν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα φθαρτά ἐστιν. Εἰ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα φθαρτά ἐστι καὶ ὑποτασσόμενα κατὰ ἀνάγκην,</p> <p>πῶς εἰσι θεοί; Εἰ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί, πῶς τὰ ἀγάλματα</p> <p>ἃ γέγονεν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν, θεοὶ ὑπάρχουσιν;</p> <p>(4.1) Ἔλθωμεν οὖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ὅπως ἀποδείξωμεν περὶ αὐτῶν</p>	<p>non intellexerunt quoniam et ipsa elementa corruptibilia sunt <i>et</i> <i>subiecta</i> <i>secundum</i> <i>necessitatem.</i> <i>Que subiecta</i> <i>sunt Deo</i> <i>omnipotenti,</i> <i>quomodo sunt</i> <i>dii?</i> Si autem elementa non sunt per se, set creata a Deo, quomodo agalmata illorum que ymaginata sunt in uenerationem eorum, dii sunt?</p> <p>(4.1) Ueniamus itaque, rex, ad rationem elementorum, ut ostendamus de eis quia</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>concerning them that they are not gods, but a creation, corruptible and changeable,</p> <p>which is in the likeness of man. But God is incorruptible and unchangeable and invisible, while seeing, turning and changing all things.</p>		<p>ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί, ἀλλὰ φθαρτὰ καὶ ἀλλοιούμενα, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος παραχθέντα προστάγματι</p> <p>τοῦ ὄντος θεοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν ἄφθαρτός τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος καὶ ἀόρατος· αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα ὁρᾷ καὶ καθὼς βούλεται ἀλλοιοῖ καὶ μεταβάλλει. Τί οὖν λέγω περὶ τῶν στοιχείων; (4.2) Οἱ νομίζοντες τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. Ὅρῳμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν τρεπόμενον καὶ κατὰ ἀνάγκην κινούμενον καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συνεστῶτα· διὸ καὶ κόσμος καλεῖται.</p>	<p>ueraciter non sunt dii, set corruptibilia atque mutabilia, ex nichilo adesse precepto ueracis</p> <p>Dei producta, qui est incorruptibilis et inmutabilis atque inuisibilis. Ipse autem omnia conspicit et mutat sicut uult et transmutat reparando. Quid enim dicam ex elementis? (4.2) Qui estimant celum esse deum, errant per omnia. Conspicimus enim ipsum conuertibile et per necessitatem uolubile ex multis constans. Quamobrem et mundus uocatur. <i>Si enim secundam Grecos ob ornatione uocatur, et latine a</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
			<p>Κόσμος δὲ κατασκευή ἐστὶ τινος τεχνίτου· τὸ κατασκευασθὲν δὲ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἔχει. Κινεῖται δὲ ὁ οὐρανὸς κατὰ ἀνάγκην σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φωστῆρσι· τὰ γὰρ ἄστρα τάξει καὶ διαστήματι φερόμενα ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς σημεῖον, τὰ μὲν δύνουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀνατέλλουσι, καὶ κατὰ καιροὺς πορείαν ποιοῦνται τοῦ ἀποτελεῖν θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας, καθὸ ἐπιτέτακται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐ παραβαίνουσι τοὺς ἰδίους ὅρους κατὰ ἀπαραίτητον φύσεως ἀνάγκην σὺν τῷ οὐρανίῳ κόσμῳ.</p>	<p><i>puritate. Ergo compositus est a quodam artifice. Quod enim componitur, principium habet et finem. Mouetur autem celum necessitate cum luminaribus suis. Astra enim ordine et intervallo uidentur separari a signo in signum. Quedam enim eorum occasum petunt, alia uero surgunt et per unumquodque tempus iterationem faciunt consumandi estatem et yemen, uer quoque et autumpnum, sicut preceptum est eis a Domino, et non transgrediunt proprios terminos; iuxta inevitabilem nature necessitatem cum celesti ornatu uoluentur nocte</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>(4.3) Those therefore who think concerning earth that it is God have already erred,</p> <p>since it is digged and planted and delved;</p> <p>and since it receives the defilement of the excrement of men of beasts and of cattle: and since sometimes it becomes what is useless; for if it be burned it becomes dead, for from baked clay there springs</p> <p>nothing: and again, if water be collected on it,</p>		<p>Ὅθεν φανερόν ἐστι μὴ εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ. (4.3) Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὴν γῆν εἶναι θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν. Ὅρῳμεν γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑβριζομένην καὶ κυριευομένην, σκαπτομένην καὶ φυρομένην καὶ ἄχρηστον γινομένην.</p> <p>Ἐὰν γὰρ ὀπτηθῇ, γίνεται νεκρά, καθότι ἐκ τοῦ ὀστράκου φύεται οὐδέν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἰάν ἐπὶ πλεον βραχῇ,</p>	<p><i>dieque semel.</i> Unde luce lucidius est nobis non esse celum deum, set opus Dei. (4.3) Qui enim estimauerunt</p> <p>terram esse deum, seducti sunt. Uidemus enim ipsam ab hominibus obprobriatam et dominatam, fuditam et condempnatam et inutilem factam.</p> <p>Si enim cum igne decocta fuerit, erit mortua, sicut in actu figuli uidetur non proprie habere figuram. Insuper autem si habundantius pluuias fuerit et nimietate eius</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>it becomes corrupted along with its fruits: and lo! it is trodden on by men and</p> <p>beasts, and it receives the impurity of the blood of the slain; and it is digged and filled with the dead and becomes a repository for bodies: none of which things can that holy and venerable and blessed and incorruptible nature receive. And from this we have perceived that the earth is not God but a creature of God.</p>		<p>φθείρεται καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ οἱ καρποὶ αὐτῆς. Καταπατεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων, αἵμασι φονευομένων μιαίνεται,</p> <p>διορύσσεται, γεμίζεται νεκρῶν, θήκη γίνεται</p> <p>σωμάτων.</p>	<p>humecta fuerit, corrumpitur ipsa et fructus ipsius. Conculcata autem ab hominibus et a ceteris animalibus, sanguinibus homicidiorum sordidatur,</p> <p>repletur mortuorum positionibus</p> <p>corporum.</p>
<p>(around 24 lines missing) ἀ[ν]θρ[ώ]πων.</p>			<p>Τούτων οὕτως ὄντων οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὴν γῆν εἶναι θεάν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων.</p>	<p>Hec itaque cum sit, non expedit terram esse deam, set opus Dei ad utilitatem hominum.</p>
<p>(5.1) Οἱ δὲ] νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὸ ὕδωρ] εἶνα[ι θν ἐπλανήθη]σαν. τὸ γ[ὰρ ὕδωρ γέ]γονεν [εἰς</p>	<p>(5.1) And in like manner again have those erred who have thought concerning water that it is God.</p> <p>For water was created for</p>		<p>(5.1) Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι θεὸν ἐπλανήθησαν. Καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ εἰς</p>	<p>(5.1) Qui autem estimant</p> <p>ut aqua sit deus, errauerunt, quia et ipsa in</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p> χρῆσιν ἀν]θρώπων καὶ κατακυ]ριε- ύετ[αι ὑπ' αὐτῶν,] μ[ι]έν[εται </p> <p> και φθει] (0-2 lines missing) </p> <p> (6 lines missing) [-----] μαιροῖς (around 16 lines missing) </p>	<p> the use of man and in many ways it is made subject to him. For it is changed, and receives defilement, and is corrupted, and loses its own nature when cooked with many things, and receives colours which are not its own; being moreover hardened by the cold and mixed and mingled with the excrement of men and beasts and with the blood of the slain: and it is compelled by workmen, by means of the compulsion of channels, to flow and be conducted against its own will, and to come into garden and other places, so as to cleanse and carry out all the filth of men, and wash away all defilement, </p>		<p> χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων γέγνε καὶ κατακυριεύεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μαιίνεται </p> <p>καὶ φθείρεται καὶ</p> <p> ἀλλοιοῦται ἐψόμενον καὶ ἀλλασσόμενον χρώμασι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους πηγνύμενον </p> <p>καὶ αἷμασι μολυνόμενον</p> <p>καὶ εἰς πάντων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων</p>	<p> necessitate hominum facta est et dominatur ab illis. Sordidatur </p> <p>et corrupitur</p> <p> mutaturque, concocta et immutata colore et a frigore congelata </p> <p>et sanguinibus sordidata</p> <p>et in omnium immundorum</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	and supply man's need of itself. Wherefore it is impossible that water should be God, but it is a work of God and a part of the world.		πλύσιν ἀγόμενον. Διὸ ἀδύνατον τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι θεάν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.	lauationem deducta, propter quod impossibile est aquam esse deum, set opus Dei.
(5.2)	(5.2) So too those have erred not a little who thought concerning fire that it is God: for it too was created for the need of men: and in many ways it is made subject to them, in the service of food and in the preparation of ornaments and the other things of which your majesty is aware:		(5.2) Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. Τὸ γὰρ πῦρ ἐγένετο εἰς χρῆσιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατακυριε- ύεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, περιφερόμενον ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον εἰς ἔψησιν καὶ ὄπτησιν	(5.2) Qui autem estimant ignem esse deum, errant. Ignis enim factus ad utilitatem hominum et dominatur ab eis, transmutatus de loco ad locum in lissum ac coctionem omnium carnium,
[σωμάτων. φθ]εῖρετα[ι] [δὲ καὶ κατὰ πο]λλοὺς [τρόπους ὑπὸ τῶ]ν ἀνθρώπων	whilst in many ways it is extinguished and destroyed.		παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων, καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φθεῖρεται	insuper autem mortuorum corporum corrumpitur uerum et iuxta plures modos ab hominibus extinctus.

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>σβεν]νόμε[νον καὶ φθει]ρόμενο(ν) [διὸ οὐκ ἐνδέχ]εται [τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θν] ἀλ[λ' ἔργον θυ. (5.3) οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὴν τῶ[v] ἀν[έ]μων πνοὴν θν εἶναι, [πλανῶ]νται. φανερὰ [γάρ] ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὅτι</p> <p>[δο]υλεύει ἐτέρῳ.</p>	<p>(5.3) And again those who have thought concerning the blast of winds that it is God, these also have erred: and this is evident to us, that these winds are subject to another, since sometimes their blast is increased and sometimes it is diminished and ceases, according to the command-ment of Him who subjects them. Since for the sake of man they were created by God, in order that they might fulfil the needs of trees and fruits and seeds, and that they might transport ships upon the sea; those ships</p>		<p>σβεννόμενον.</p> <p>Διὸ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὸ πῦρ εἶναι θεόν ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ. (5.3) Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὴν εἶναι θεόν πλανῶνται. Φανερόν γάρ ἐστὶν ὅτι</p> <p>δουλεύει ἐτέρῳ</p> <p>καὶ χάριν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατεσκεύασται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ</p> <p>πρὸς μεταγωγὴν πλοίων καὶ συγκομιδὴν</p>	<p>Propter quod non decet et ignem esse deum, set opus Dei. (5.3) Alii namque estimantes uentorum spirationem esse deam, errant. Palam enim est quia alteri seruit et per gratiam hominum componitur a Deo ad iterationem nauium et mutationem</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>ποτέ [μὲν γὰρ] α[ὕ]ξε[ι, ποτέ] δὲ λήγει. οὐκοῦν ἀναγ[κά]ζεται ὕπό τινος -[-----] [--] -- ξει - [-----] νωνα-- [-]α -[-----] λ--- [-]-- 4 lines missing [-----]-ελ--ι [-----] ντων των [-----] νωντ[-] (around 5 lines missing)</p>	<p>which bring to men their necessary things,</p> <p>from a place where they are found; and furnish the different parts of the world. Since then this wind is sometimes increased and sometimes diminished, there is one place in which it does good and another where it does harm, according to the nod of Him who rules it: and even men are able by means of well- known instruments to catch and coerce it that it may fulfil for them the necessities which they demand of it: a place where they are not found; and furnish the different parts of the world.</p>		<p>τῶν σιτίων καὶ εἰς λοιπὰς αὐτῶν χρείας·</p> <p>αὔξει τε καὶ λήγει</p> <p>κατ' ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ.</p>	<p>et alationem cereris et ad reliquas utilitates</p> <p>ipsorum auget et decrescit</p> <p>secundum preceptum Dei</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>θν, ἀ[λλ' ἔργον θυ.]</p> <p>(6.1) εἰ δὲ νομίζουσι</p> <p>τὸν] ἥλιον εἶναι θν, πλα]νῶντα[ι. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ] αὐτὸν κ[ινοῦμενον] κατὰ ἀν[άγκην καὶ] τρεπόμε[νον, καὶ] μ[ετ]αβα[ίν]οντα ἀπὸ] [ση]μ[ε]ρίου εἰς σημεῖον, καθ' ἡμέραν φερόμενον, δύνοντά τε καὶ ἀνατέλλοντα τοῦ θερμαίνειν</p> <p>τὰ βλαστὰ καὶ τὰ φυτὰ εἰς τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,</p> <p>ἐπει (l. ἔτι)</p>	<p>and over itself it has no power at all; wherefore it is not possible that winds should be called gods, but a work of God.</p> <p>(6.1) So too those have erred who have thought concerning the sun that he is God.</p> <p>For lo! we see him, that by the necessity of another he is moved and turned and runs his course; and he proceeds from degree to degree, rising and setting every day,</p> <p>in order that he may warm the</p> <p>shoots of plants and shrubs, and</p> <p>may bring forth in the air which is mingled with him every herb which is on the earth. And in</p>		<p>Διὸ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων πνοὴν εἶναι θεάν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.</p> <p>(6.1) Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες</p> <p>τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται. Ὅρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν κινούμενον κατὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ τρεπόμενον καὶ μεταβαίνοντα ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς σημεῖον,</p> <p>δύνοντα καὶ ἀνατέλλοντα τοῦ θερμαίνειν</p> <p>τὰ βλαστώοντα φυτὰ εἰς χρῆσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,</p> <p>ἔτι δὲ</p>	<p>et propter hoc non expedit uentorum aspirationem esse deam, set opus Dei.</p> <p>(6.1) Alii namque estimantes</p> <p>solem esse deum, errant. Conspicimus quippe illum</p> <p>pertranseuntem de signo ad signum,</p> <p>occidentem ac surgentem mane ad prebendum calorem germinantibus nascentiis ad necessitatem hominum,</p> <p>insuper</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
[-----]---[<p>Ὅρωμεν γὰρ αὐτὴν κινουμένην κατὰ</p> <p>ἀνάγκην καὶ τρεπομένην καὶ μεταβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ σημείου εἰς σημεῖον,</p> <p>δύνουσάν τε καὶ ἀνατέλλουσιν εἰς χρεῖαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐλάττονα οὔσαν τοῦ ἡλίου, αὐξομένην τε καὶ μειομένην καὶ</p> <p>ἐκλείψεις</p> <p>ἔχουσιν. Διὸ οὐκ ὀφειλόμενον ἐστὶ τὴν σελήνην εἶναι θεάν, ἀλλ' ἔργον θεοῦ.</p>	<p>Inspicimus ipsam mouentem per unumquodque signum, ambulantem oblique et per necessitatem reuoluentem, transcurrentem de signo in signum per unum ac dimidium diem, occidentem atque surgetem pro utilitate hominum et deficit ut sol, quando opponitur ei in quartodecimo die, umbra terre crescit dum prolongantura fratre, decrescit autem per quatuor similiter punctos cum fratri iterum appropinquat.</p> <p>Propter quod non est necessarium Cynthiam esse deam, set opus Dei.</p>
	(7.1) But those who have thought concerning		(7.1) Οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες	(7.1) Amentiores sunt omnibus, qui estimant

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>men of old, that some of them are gods, these have greatly erred: as thou, even thou, O king, art awake, that man consists of the four elements and of soul and spirit, and therefore is he even called World, and apart from any one of these parts he does not exist. He has beginning and end,</p> <p>and he is born and also suffers corruption. But God, as I have said, has none of this in His nature, but He is unmade and incorruptible. On this account, then, it is impossible that we should represent him as God who is man by nature, one to whom</p>		<p>τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι θεὸν πλανῶνται.</p> <p>Ὅρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν κυούμενον κατὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ τρεφόμενον καὶ γηράσκοντα, καὶ μὴ θέλοντος αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>hominem esse deum, errantur.</p> <p>Conspicimus autem eum per necessitatem aliturum ac senescentem et nolente illo,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>sometimes, when he looketh for joy, grief</p> <p>happens, and for laughter, and weeping befals him; one that is</p> <p>passionate and jealous, envious and regretful, along with the rest of the other defects: and in many ways more corrupted than the elements or even than the beasts.</p> <p>(7.2) And thence, O king, it is right for us to understand the error of the barbarians, that, whereas they have not investigated</p>		<p>Καὶ ποτὲ μὲν χαίρει, ποτὲ δὲ λυπεῖται, δεόμενος βρώματος καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ ἐσθῆτος,</p> <p>εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ὀργίλον καὶ ζηλωτὴν καὶ ἐπιθυμητὴν καὶ μεταμελόμενον, καὶ ἐλαττώματα πολλὰ ἔχοντα. Φθείρεται δὲ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους, ὑπὸ στοιχείων καὶ ζώων καὶ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου αὐτῷ θανάτου. Οὐκ ἐνδέχεται οὖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλ’ ἔργον θεοῦ. (7.2)</p> <p>Πλάνην οὖν μεγάλην ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι</p>	<p>interdum letatur et interdum tristatur, egens cibo portuque atque uestitu,</p> <p>essequae autem ipsum furiosum</p> <p>emulatoremque ac desiderantem et repenitentem et complura detrimenta habentem. Corrumpitur namque secundum plures modos sub elementis ac animalibuet superposita morte. Non expedit ergo hominem esse deum, set opus Dei. (7.2)</p> <p>Errore igitur magno exorbitauerunt Chaldei</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>concerning the true God, they have fallen away from the truth and have gone after the desire of their own mind, in serving</p> <p>elements subject to dissolution, and dead images: and on account of their error they do not perceive who is the true God.</p> <p>(8.1) Let us return now to the Greeks in order that we may know what opinion they have concerning the true God. The Greeks then because they are wiser than</p> <p>the Barbarians have erred even more than the Barbarians, in that they have introduced</p>		<p>ὀπίσω τῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων αὐτῶν· σέβονται γὰρ τὰ φθαρτὰ στοιχεῖα</p> <p>καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται ταῦτα θεοποιούμενοι.</p> <p>(8.1) Ἔλθωμεν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἵνα ἴδωμεν τί ἄρα φρονοῦσι περὶ θεοῦ. Οἱ οὖν Ἕλληνες σοφοὶ λέγοντες εἶναι ἐμωράνθησαν χεῖρον τῶν Χαλδαίων,</p> <p>παρεισάγοντες</p>	<p>post concupiscentias suas. Uenerantur enim corruptibilia elementa</p> <p>et mortua agalmata et non intelligentes hec deos faciebant.</p> <p>(8.1) Deinde itaque ueniamus ad Ellines, ut inspiciamus quid ergo sciunt deum. Ellines uero sapientes cum essent insipientes, facti sunt deteriores Chaldeis,</p> <p>inducentes</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>many gods that are made; and some of them they have represented as male some of them as female;</p> <p>and in such a way that some of their gods were found to be adulterers and murderers, and jealous and envious, and angry and passionate, and murderers of fathers,</p> <p>and thieves and plunderers. And they say that some of them were lame and maimed; and some of them wizards, and some of them utterly mad; and some of them played on harps; and some of them wandered on mountains: and some of them died outright;</p>		<p>θεοὺς πολλοὺς γεγενῆσθαι,</p> <p>τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας, τοὺς δὲ θηλείας, παντοίων παθῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν δημιουργοὺς ἀνομημάτων. [See note 1 below] [οὗς αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐξέθεντο</p> <p>μοιχοὺς εἶναι καὶ φονεῖς, ὀργίλους καὶ ζηλωτὰς καὶ θυμαντικοὺς, πατροκτόνους τε καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνους, κλέπτας καὶ ἄρπαγας,</p> <p>χωλοὺς καὶ κυλλοὺς καὶ φαρμακοὺς καὶ μαινομένους,</p> <p>καὶ τούτων τινὰς μὲν τετελ-</p>	<p>complures deos fuisse,</p> <p>quosdam autem mares, quosdam autem feminas, omnium uitiorum atque diuersarum factores iniquitatum</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>and some were struck by lightening, and some were stolen by men; and lo!</p> <p>some of them were wept and bewailed by men; and some, they say, went down to Hades; and some were sorely wounded, and some were changed into the likeness of beasts in order that they might commit adultery with the race of mortal women; and some of them, they say, were in wedlock with their mothers and sisters and daughters; and they say of their gods they they committed adultery with the daughters; and they say of their gods that they committed adultery with the daughter of men, and from them was born a certain race</p>		<p>ευτηκότας, τινὰς δὲ κεκεραυν- ωμένους καὶ δεδουλευκότας ἀνθρώποις καὶ φυγάδας γενομένους καὶ κοπτομένους καὶ θρηνουμένους</p> <p>καὶ εἰς ζῷα μεταμορφ- ουμένους ἐπὶ πονηραῖς καὶ αἰσχροῖς πράξεσιν.]</p>	

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>which was also mortal. And of some of their goddesses they say that they contended about beauty and came for judgment before men.</p> <p>(8.2) The Greeks then, O king, have brought forward what is wicked, ridiculous and foolish concerning their gods and themselves;</p> <p>in that they called such like persons gods, who are no gods:</p> <p>taken occasion to commit adultery and fornication,</p> <p>and to plunder and do everything that is wicked and hateful and abominable. For if those who are called</p>		<p>(8.2) Ὅθεν</p> <p>γελοῖα καὶ μωρὰ καὶ ἄσεβῃ παρεισθήγον οἱ Ἕλληνες,</p> <p>βασιλεῦ, ῥήματα, τοὺς μὴ ὄντας προσαγο- ρεύοντες θεοὺς κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν τὰς πονηράς, ἵνα τούτους συνηγόρους ἔχοντες</p> <p>τῆς κακίας μοιχεύωσιν, ἁρπάζωσι,</p> <p>φονεύωσι καὶ τὰ πάνδεινα ποιῶσιν.</p> <p>Εἰ γὰρ</p>	<p>(8.2) Unde</p> <p>ludibria ac uanitates impiaque introducunt,</p> <p>imperator famina qui non sunt appellandi dignos deos secundum concupiscentias suas malas, ut habeant eos auxiliores iniquitatis.</p> <p>Adulteria agunt, violenterauf- erunt, interficiunt et omnia dura faciunt.</p> <p>Si enim</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>their gods have done all those things and hence men have that are written above, how much more shall men do them who believe in those who have done these things! and from the</p> <p>wickedness of this error, lo! there have happened to men frequent wars and mighty famines and bitter captivity and deprivation of all things: and lo! they endure them, and all these things befall them from this cause alone: and when they endure them they do not perceive in their conscience that because of their error these things happen to them.</p> <p>(9.1) Now let us come to the history of</p>		<p>οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν, πῶς καὶ</p> <p>αὐτοὶ οὐ τοιαῦτα πράξουσιν; Ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς πλάνης συνέβη τοῖς ἄνθρώποις πολέμους ἔχειν συχνοὺς σφαγὰς τε καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας πικράς.</p> <p>(9.1) Ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’</p>	<p>dii illorum talia perpetrauerunt, quomodo et</p> <p>ipsi talia non egent? Ex hiis ergo</p> <p>adinuentionibus et erroribus contigit hominibus sepissime bella habere atque strages et obductiones amaras.</p> <p>(9.1) Sed etsi per</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>these their gods in order that we may prove accurately concerning all those things which we have said above.</p> <p>Before everything else the Greeks introduce as a</p> <p>god Kronos, which is interpreted Chiun; and the worshippers of this deity</p> <p>sacrifice to him their children: and some of them they burn while yet living. Concerning him they say that he took him Rhea to wife; and from her he begat many sons; from whom he begat also Dios, who is called Zeus; and at the last he went mad and, for fear of</p>		<p>ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν εἰ θελήσομεν ἐπεξελεῖν</p> <p>τῷ λόγῳ,</p> <p>πολλὴν ὄψει τὴν ἀτοπίαν. Παρεισάγεται</p> <p>γὰρ αὐτοῖς</p> <p>πρὸ πάντων θεὸς Κρόνος,</p> <p>καὶ τούτῳ θύουσι τὰ ἴδια τέκνα,</p> <p>ὃς ἔσχε παῖδας πολλοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ῥέας,</p> <p>καὶ μανεῖς ἤσθη τὰ ἴδια τέκνα.</p>	<p>unumquemque deum illorum uolumus gesta eorum</p> <p>sermonibus expedire,</p> <p>multam aspiciemus prauitatem illorum. Introducitur</p> <p>autem ab eis atque preponitur omnibus diis Saturnus et</p> <p>huic offerunt filios suos.</p> <p>Qui habuit plures filios ex Rea coniuge sua</p> <p>et stomachatus comedebat illos.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>an oracle which was told him, began to eat his children. And from him Zeus was stolen away, and he did not perceive it: and at the last Zeus bound him and cut off his genitals and cast them in the sea: whence, as they say in the fable, was born Aphrodite, who is called Astera:</p> <p>and he cast Kronos bound into darkness.</p> <p>Great</p> <p>then is the error and scorn which the Greeks have introduced concerning the head of their gods,</p>		<p>Φασὶ δὲ τὸν Δία κόψαι αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅθεν Ἀφροδίτη μυθεύεται γεννᾶσθαι.</p> <p>Δήσας οὖν τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα ὁ Ζεὺς ἔβαλεν εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον.</p> <p>Ὅρᾳς τὴν πλάνην καὶ ἀσέλγειαν, ἣν παρεισάγουσι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν;</p>	<p>Dicunt autem Iouem abscidisse uirilia eius et proiecisse ea in mari, unde Uenerem dicunt genitam fuisse, ligansque proprium patrem Iouis misit eum in Tartarum <i>pro eo quod sicut et alios habitatores Crete interfecerat, et ipse obuolutus in lodice uix ex dentibus eius euasit, nutritus apibus in antro.</i> Aspice igitur <i>o excellentissime imperator,</i> errorem et adulterium quem inducunt aduersus deum suum <i>insipientes</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>in that they have said all these things about him, O king. It is not possible that God should be bound or amputated; otherwise it is a great misfortune.</p> <p>(9.2) And after Kronos they introduced another god, Zeus; and they say concerning this one, that he received the headship and became king of all the gods; and they say concerning him that he was changed into cattle and everything else, in order that he might commit adultery with mortal women, and might rise up to himself children from them. Since at one time they say he was changed into a bull on account of his passion for Europa</p>		<p>Ἐνδέχεται οὖν θεὸν εἶναι δέσμιον καὶ ἀπόκοπον; Ὡς τῆς</p> <p>ἀνοίας· τίς τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων ταῦτα φήσκει; (9.2) Δεύτερος</p> <p>παρεισάγεται ὁ Ζεὺς, ὃν φασι</p> <p>βασιλεῦσαι τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν</p> <p>καὶ</p> <p>μεταμορφοῦσθαι εἰς ζῷα, ὅπως μοιχεύσῃ θνητὰς γυναῖκας.</p> <p>Παρεισάγουσι γὰρ τοῦτον μεταμορφούμενον εἰς ταῦρον</p> <p>πρὸς Εὐρώπην</p>	<p><i>Ellines.</i></p> <p>Expedit enim deum esse conuincul-atum et spadonem? O magnitudinem</p> <p>uanitatis! Quis ex sapientibus hec dixerit? (9.2) Secundus autem</p> <p>introducitur Iouis quem aiunt</p> <p>regnasse super omnes deos ipsorum et</p> <p>transfigurasse in diuersa animalia ut complures ludificando corrumperet mulieres.</p> <p>Adiciunt itaque hoc ut olim transformatus in tauro rapuisset</p> <p>Europin <i>filia</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>and for Pasiphae; and again he was changed into the likeness of gold on account of his passion for Danae: and into a swan, through his passion for Leda;</p> <p>and into a man through his passion for Antiope; and into lightening on account of his passion for the Moon:</p> <p>so that form these he begat many children:</p> <p>for they say that from Antope he</p> <p>begat Zethus and Amphion; and from the Moon, Dionysius; from Alkmena,</p>		<p>καὶ</p> <p>εἰς</p> <p>χρυσὸν πρὸς</p> <p>Δανάην καὶ εἰς κύκνον</p> <p>πρὸς Λήδαν</p> <p>καὶ εἰς σάτυρον πρὸς</p> <p>Ἀντιόπην καὶ εἰς κεραυνὸν πρὸς</p> <p>Σεμέλην·</p> <p>εἶτα γενέσθαι τέκνα ἐκ τούτων πολλά·</p> <p>Διόνυσον</p> <p>καὶ Ζῆθον καὶ Ἀμφίονα καὶ</p>	<p><i>Cadmi de Tyro,</i> et</p> <p>in</p> <p>auro transformaturs in Danaïm, et in cigno quando</p> <p>cum Lida <i>matre</i> <i>Helene</i> <i>concubuit</i>, et in satirum quando pellexit Antiope, et in fulmen conuersus est quando corruptit Semelem <i>genitricem</i> <i>Dionisii. Ita</i> <i>asserunt ex tam</i> <i>diuersis</i> <i>ludificationibus</i> <i>magice artis</i> plures extitisse filios <i>diuersa per</i> <i>loca</i> et</p> <p>Dionisium <i>ex</i> <i>discisso utero</i> <i>matris</i> <i>deductum</i> et Zethon et Amphion</p> <p><i>conditores</i> <i>Epidauri</i> et</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	Herakles; and from Leto,		Ἡρακλῆν καὶ	<i>famosissimum</i> Herculem <i>qui</i> <i>post innumera</i> <i>bella seductus</i> <i>amore coniugis</i> <i>Amphitrionis</i> <i>arsit miser</i> <i>simul cum pelle</i> <i>leonis et ueste</i> <i>quam ei in</i> <i>sanguine</i> <i>Gorgonis</i> <i>tingens</i> <i>Amphitrionis</i> <i>composuerat</i> <i>uxoret</i>
	Apollo and Artemis; and from Danae, Perseus; and from Leda, Castor and Polydeuces and Helene; and		Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Περσέα,	Apollinem et Dianam et Perseum
	from Mnemosyne he begat nine daughter, those whom he called the Muses; and from Europa, Minos and Rhadamanthus		Κάστορά τε καὶ Ἑλένην καὶ Πολυδεύκην	Castoremque et Helenam et Politeukin
	from Mnemosyne he begat nine daughter, those whom he called the Muses; and from Europa, Minos and Rhadamanthus		καὶ	et
	and Sarpedon.		Μίνωα καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τὰς ἑννέα θυγατέρας ἅς προσηγόρευσαν Μούσας. Εἴθ' οὕτω παρεισάγουσι	Minonem et Rodamanthum <i>rectorem</i> <i>Cretensium</i> <i>et Tartari</i> <i>iudices et</i> Sarpidonem nouem filias Iouis quas inducunt instituisse Musas. Post hec
	But last of all he was changed			

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>into the likeness of an eagle on account of his passion for Ganymede the shepherd. (9.3) Because of these stories, O king, much evil has befallen the race of men who are at this present day, since they imitate their gods, and commit adultery, and are defiled with their mother and sisters, and in sleeping with males: and some of them have dared to kill even their fathers.</p> <p>For if he, who is said to be the head and king of their gods, has done these things, how much more shall his worshippers imitate him! And great is the madness which</p>		<p>τὰ</p> <p>κατὰ τὸν</p> <p>Γανυμήδην.</p> <p>(9.3) Συνέβη οὖν, βασιλεῦ,</p> <p>τοῖς ἀνθρώποις</p> <p>μιμεῖσθαι ταῦτα πάντα καὶ γίνεσθαι μοιχοὺς καὶ</p> <p>ἀρρενομανεῖς</p> <p>καὶ ἄλλων δεινῶν ἔργων ἐργάτας κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν.</p>	<p>adiciunt hiis</p> <p>Ganimedem.</p> <p>(9.3) Contigit ergo</p> <p>hominibus</p> <p>imitari hec omnia et fieri corruptores</p> <p>utriusque sexus</p> <p>et</p> <p>operatores malorum actuum iuxta imitationem dii eorum.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>the Greeks have introduced into their history concerning him: for it is not possible that a god should commit adultery or</p> <p>fornication, or should approach to sleep with males, or that he should be a parricide; otherwise he is much worse than a destructive demon.</p> <p>(10.1) And again they introduce another god, Hephaestus;</p> <p>and they say of him that he is lame and wearing a cap on his head, and holding in his hand tongs and hammer;</p>		<p>Πῶς οὖν ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι μοιχὸν ἢ ἀνδροβάτην ἢ πατροκτόνον;</p> <p>(10.1) Σὺν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἥφαιστόν τινα παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτον χωλόν, καὶ</p> <p>κρατοῦντα σφῦραν καὶ πυρόλαβον</p>	<p>Quomodo igitur expedit deum esse adulterum aut maris accensorem aut patricidam <i>et persecutorem eius usque Epuliam que et olim Apigia dicta est?</i></p> <p>(10.1) Cum hoc itaque combinantur et quendam Plutonem esse deum et hunc clodum tenetemque malleum et ignitum</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>and working in brass in order that therefrom he may find his needed sustenance. Is then this god so much in need? Whereas it is impossible for a god to be</p> <p>needy or lame: otherwise he is very weak.</p> <p>(10.2) And again they introduce another god and call him Hermes;</p> <p>and they say</p> <p>that he is a thief, loving avarice and converting gains, and a magician and maimed and an athlete and an interpreter of words:</p> <p>whereas it is impossible for a god to be a magician, or avaricious, or maimed, or coveting anything that is</p>		<p>καὶ χαλκεύοντα</p> <p>χάριν τροφῆς. Ἄρα</p> <p>ἐπενδεής ἐστίν· ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι</p> <p>χωλὸν</p> <p>οὐδὲ προσδεόμενον ἀνθρώπων.</p> <p>(10.2) Εἶτα</p> <p>τὸν Ἑρμῆν παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι ἐπιθυμητὴν καὶ κλέπτην, πλεονέκτην</p> <p>τε καὶ μάγον καὶ κυλλὸν καὶ</p> <p>λόγων ἐρμηνευτήν·</p> <p>ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον.</p>	<p>lapidem et operantem propter cibos; ergo</p> <p>indigens, oportet fieri deum quod non oportet deum esse.</p> <p>(10.2)</p> <p>Desideratorem et furem et auarum</p> <p>et magnum et clodum et sermonum interpretem ut Mercurius quem non expedit deum esse.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>not his, or an athlete: and if it be found to be otherwise, he is of no use.</p> <p>(10.3) And after they introduce another god, Asclepius; and they say that he is a physician and prepares medicines and bandages in order that he may satisfy his need of sustenance.</p> <p>Is then this god in need? And he at last was struck by lightning by Zeus, on account of Tyndareus the Lacedemonian; and so he died.</p> <p>If then</p>		<p>(10.3) Τὸν δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι,</p> <p>ἰατρὸν ὄντα καὶ κατασκευάζοντα φάρμακα καὶ σύνθεσιν ἐμπλάσטרων χάριν</p> <p>τροφῆς – ἐπιδεῆς γὰρ ἦν –,</p> <p>ὕστερον δὲ κεραυνοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς διὰ Τυνδάρεων Λακεδαίμονος υἱόν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν.</p> <p>Εἰ δὲ</p>	<p>(10.3) Deinde subiungunt Asclepium fuisse deum,</p> <p>medicum et inuentorem</p> <p>medicine et compositorum emplaustorum,</p> <p>pro necessitate esce Inops erat et iactabat se per artem de morte ad uitam reducere semper.</p> <p>Postea autem pro hoc fulminatus a Ioue propter filium Tindarei Lacedemonensis et aput inferum requieuit cum aliis. Aspice igitur cum interioribus ocellis precordii et cognosce deum omnipotentem et uide si</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>Asclepius was a god, and when struck by lightening was</p> <p>unable to help himself, how is it that he was able to help others?</p> <p>Whereas it is an impossible thing that the divine nature should be in need, or that it should be struck by lightening.</p> <p>(10.4) And again they introduce another god and call him Ares, and they say that he is a warrior</p> <p>and jealous, and coverts sheep and things which do not belong to him, and acquires possessions through his weapons; and of him they say that at last</p>		<p>Ἀσκληπιὸς θεὸς ὢν καὶ κεραυνωθείς</p> <p>οὐκ ἡδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι, πῶς ἄλλοις βοηθήσει;</p> <p>(10.4) Ἄρης δὲ παρεισάγεται θεὸς εἶναι</p> <p>πολεμιστῆς καὶ ζηλωτῆς, ἐπιθυμητῆς θρεμμάτων καὶ</p> <p>ἐτέρων τινῶν· ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν</p>	<p>Asclepius fuisset deus,</p> <p><i>numquam fulminari potuisset, set auxiliaretur sibi.</i> Et qui sibi non ualuit amminiculari, quomodo aliis auxilium affert?</p> <p>(10.4) Martem igitur adiciunt extitisse deum</p> <p>belli, pugnatores et emulatorem et</p> <p>desideratorem substantiarum; postea ipse</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>he committed adultery with Aphrodite and was bound by a tiny boy Eros, and by Hephaestus the husband of Aphrodite: whereas it is</p> <p>should be a warrior or a prisoner or an adulterer. (10.5) And again they say of Dionysius that he too is a god, who celebrates festivals by night and teaches drunkenness, and carries off women that do not belong to him: and at last they say that he went mad and left his female attendants and fled to the wilderness; and in this madness of his he ate serpents; and at the last he was killed by Titan.</p>		<p>μοιχεύοντα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δεθῆναι τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ νηπίου Ἔρωτος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἥφαίστου.</p> <p>Πῶς οὖν θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπιθυμητὴς καὶ πολεμιστὴς καὶ δέσμιος καὶ μοιχός; (10.5) Τὸν δὲ</p> <p>Διόνυσον παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι, νυκτερινὰς ἄγοντα ἑορτὰς καὶ διδάσκαλον μέθης καὶ ἀποσπῶντα τὰς τῶν πλησίων γυναῖκας καὶ</p> <p>μαινόμενον καὶ φεύγοντα·</p> <p>ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν σφαγῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων.</p>	<p>propter adulterium Ueneris a Cupidine puero et Uulcano colligatus apud inferum.</p> <p>Quomodo ergo deus erat iste desiderator et bellator et compeditus et adulter? (10.5) Subiungunt itaque et bachum</p> <p>deum esse, nocturnas agentem festas et inuentorem ebrietatis et corruptorem propinquorum coniugum et</p> <p>bachantem</p> <p>fugientemque a</p> <p>titanibus habitatoribus</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>If then Dionysius was a god, and when slain was not able to help himself;</p> <p>how</p> <p>is it that he was able to help others?</p> <p>(10.6) Herakles, too, they introduce, and they say of him that he is a god, a hater of things hateful, a tyrant and a warrior, and a slayer of the wicked: and of him they say that at the last</p> <p>he went mad and slew his children</p> <p>and</p> <p>cast himself into the fire and died. If therefore Herakles be a</p>		<p>Ei οὖν Διόνυσος</p> <p>σφαγείς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαινόμενος ἦν καὶ μέθυστος καὶ δραπέτης, πῶς</p> <p>ἂν εἴη θεός;</p> <p>(10.6) Τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλῆν παρεισάγουσι</p> <p>μεθυσθῆναι καὶ μανῆναι καὶ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα σφάζαι, εἶτα πυρὶ</p> <p>ἀναλωθῆναι καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. Πῶς δ' ἂν εἴη θεός</p>	<p><i>Africe.</i> Si ergo Bachus</p> <p>extinctus sibmet auxiliari non ualuit, set et furiosus erat et ebrius et fugax, quomodo credendum est, o imperator, ut sit deus?</p> <p>(10.6) Coniugunt deinde hiis Herculem,</p> <p>erbrium et bachantem et irantem in filios quos pro furia interfecit, sic ab ignibus simul cum mathera quam gestabat, et pelle leonis extingui.</p> <p>Quo ordine ut fuisse deus,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>god and in all these evils was unable to stand up for himself, how was it that others were asking help from him? Whereas it is impossible that a god should be mad or drunken or a slayer of his children, or destroyed by fire.</p> <p>(11.1) And after him they introduce another god and call him Apollo: and they say of him that he is jealous and changeable; and sometimes he holds a bow and a quiver,</p> <p>and sometimes a lyre and a plectrum; and he gives oracles to me,</p>		<p>μέθυσος καὶ τεκνοκτόνος καὶ κατακαιόμενος; Ἡ πῶς ἄλλοις βοηθήσει ὁ ἑαυτῷ βοηθῆσαι μὴ δυνηθείς;</p> <p>(11.1) Τὸν δὲ</p> <p>Ἀπόλλωνα παρεισάγουσι θεὸν</p> <p>εἶναι ζηλωτήν,</p> <p>ἔτι δὲ τόξον καὶ φαρέτραν κρατοῦντα,</p> <p>ποτὲ δὲ κιθάραν καὶ ῥέπανθίδα†, καὶ</p>	<p>ebrius et filiorum interfector et incensus, uel quomodo aliis subuenire ualet qui sibi ipsi in furia subuenire non ualuit?</p> <p>(11.1) Introducunt</p> <p>etiam Apollinem deum</p> <p>esse emulatorem,</p> <p>arcum cum aurea faretra</p> <p>ac uirgam lauream tenentem, aliquando et cum cytara</p> <p><i>incantantem</i> ac <i>indiuinantem</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	in order that he may receive a reward from them.		μαντεύμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χάριν μισθοῦ.	per magiam hominibus causa premii. <i>Hii ergo cum Ioue rege Cretensium ascensis nauibus abierunt Tyrum Fenice ut Europin raperent dum Egyptum Agenor genitor eius depopularet. Quam cum nec per pretium nec monita ac minas portuissent arripere quoniam obseruabat illam quidam philosophus, emissa sagipta cum caneret et pre dulcedine abdormisset, in mamillam eum percussit et interfecit, et ita ablata cum omnibus diuitiis patris per Syriam, Armeniam ac Bosforum, Pontum atque Elespontum regirando Critim duxere. Ecce deorum maiestati glorie tue retuli furta,</i>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>Is then this god in need of a reward?</p> <p>Whereas it is disgraceful</p> <p>that all these things should be found in a god. (11.2)</p> <p>And after him they introduce Artemis a goddess,</p> <p>the sister of Apollo; and they say that she was a huntress; and she carried a bow and arrows, and went about on mountains leading dogs either to hunt the deer or the wild boars.</p> <p>Whereas it is disgraceful that</p>		<p>Ἄρα ἐπενδεῆς ἐστίν·</p> <p>ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται θεὸν εἶναι</p> <p>ἐνδεῇ καὶ ζηλωτὴν καὶ κιθαρωδόν.</p> <p>(11.2)</p> <p>Ἄρτεμιν δὲ παρεισάγουσι</p> <p>ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ εἶναι,</p> <p>κυνηγὸν οὖσαν καὶ τόξον ἔχειν μετὰ φαρέτρας, καὶ ταύτην ρέμβεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ὀρέων μόνην μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν, ὅπως θηρεύσῃ ἐλάφον ἢ κάπρον.</p> <p>Πῶς οὖν ἔσται θεὸς ἡ τοιαύτη</p>	<p>o imperator;</p> <p>intellige et cognosce si deus inops est, quod deum esse non oportet, pauperem,</p> <p>inuidiosum ac citharistam.</p> <p>(11.2) <i>Quid dicam tibi de prestigiosa sorore eius Diana quam introducunt uenantionis constitisse deam,</i></p> <p>habentem arcum ac faretram, exorbitantem cum canibus per montium conualliumque peruia solam ut ceruum aut aprum uenaret <i>et pastores irriserunt lauantem in fonte Quali</i> pacto credenda sit dea, o rex,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	a maid		γυνή καὶ κυνηγὸς καὶ ῥεμβομένη μετὰ τῶν κυνῶν;	cuismodi mulier uenatrix atque erratix <i>corrupta in siluis a Pan (Pane) deo et que Archadie quod astruit quidam? Non est tibi, Diana, rubor?</i>
	should go about by herself on mountains and follow the chase of beasts. And therefore it is not possible that Artemis should be a goddess. (11.3) Again they say of Aphrodite that she forsooth is a goddess;		(11.3) Ἀφροδίτην δὲ λέγουσι καὶ αὐτὴν θεὰν εἶναι μοιχαλίδα.	(11.3) Preponam huic Uenerem, o rex, quam <i>stultissimi Ellinum</i> deam pro
	and sometimes forsooth she swells with their gods, and sometimes she commits adultery with men; and sometimes she has Ares for her lover and sometimes		Ποτὲ γὰρ ἔσχε μοιχὸν τὸν Ἄρην, ποτὲ δὲ	adulterio constitisse inducunt, habuisse aliquando amatorem sepius

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>Adonis, who is</p> <p>Tammuz: and sometimes forsooth Aphrodite is wailing and weeping for the death of Tammuz: and they say that she went down to Hades in order that she might ransom Adonis from Persephone, who was the daughter of Hades.</p> <p>If then</p> <p>Aphrodite be a goddess and was unable to help her lover in his death, how is she able to help others? And this is a thing impossible to be listened to, that the divine nature should come to weeping and wailing and adultery.</p>		<p>Ἀγχίσην, ποτὲ δὲ Ἄδωνιν,</p> <p>οὔτινος καὶ τὸν θάνατον κλαίει ζητοῦσα τὸν ἐραστὴν αὐτῆς· ἣν λέγουσι καὶ εἰς ἄδου καταβαίνειν, ὅπως ἐξαγοράσῃ τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀπὸ τῆς Περσεφόνης.</p> <p>Εἶδες, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μείζονα ταύτης ἀφροσύνην,</p> <p>θεὰν</p> <p>παρεισάγειν τὴν μοιχεύσασαν καὶ θρηνοῦσαν καὶ κλαίουσαν;</p>	<p>Anchisem, interdum Adonim,</p> <p>cuius obitum dum fleret querendo amatorem suum, dicunt usque ad Stigii descendisse claustra ut redimeret illum a Proserpine</p> <p><i>que pro decoritate ac dulcerdine cantus sibi arripuerant apud inferum.</i> Cognoscis, o imperator, insipientiam fortiorem hac?</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>(11.4) And again</p> <p>they say of Tammuz that he is a god; and he is forsooth a hunter</p> <p>and an adulterer; and they say that he was killed by a blow from a wild boar, and was not able to help himself.</p> <p>And if he was not able to help himself, how is</p> <p>he able to take care of the human race? And this is impossible, that a god should be an adulterer or a hunter or that he</p>		<p>(11.4)</p> <p>Ἄδωνιν δὲ παρεισάγουσι θεὸν εἶναι</p> <p>κυνηγόν,</p> <p>καὶ τοῦτον βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν,</p> <p>πληγέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑὸς καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα βοηθῆσαι τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ.</p> <p>Πῶς οὖν</p> <p>τῶν ἀνθρώπων φροντίδα ποιήσεται</p> <p>ὁ μοιχὸς καὶ κυνηγὸς καὶ</p>	<p>(11.4) Et inducunt hanc deam esse meretricem ac flentem Adonim. Quem deum fuisse uenatorem, pulcherrimum cantatorem</p> <p>et uiolenter a scorpione extinctum,</p> <p>cum plage sue medicamen impendere nequiret.</p> <p><i>Quem alii dicunt in auem nominis sui mutatum, rusciniolus uocetur.</i></p> <p>Qua ergo ratione credendum est, o sapientissime regum, hominibus prebuisse curas</p> <p>qui adulter ac uenator <i>et uiolenter a</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>should have died by violence. (11.5-6) And again they say of Rhea that she forsooth is the mother of their gods; and they say of her that she had at one time a lover Atys, and she was rejoicing in corruptible men; and at the last she established lamentations, and was bewailing her lover Atys. If then the mother of their gods was not able to help her lover and rescue him from death, how is it possible that she should help others? It is disgraceful then that a goddess should lament and weep, and that she should have joy over corruptible beings. Again they bring forward Kore; and they say that she was a goddess and that she was</p>		βιοθάνατος;	<p><i>scorpione percussus occisus est?</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>carried off by Pluto and was not able to help herself. If then she is a goddess and was not able to help herself, how is she able to help others? For a goddess who is carried off it extremely weak.</p> <p>(11.7) All these things, then,</p> <p>O king, the Greeks have introduced forward about their gods,</p> <p>and have invented and said concerning them: whence</p> <p>all men have taken occasion</p>		<p>(11.7) Ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πολλῶ πλεῖον αἰσχροτέρα καὶ πονηρὰ παρεισήγαγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ἃ οὔτε λέγειν θέμις, οὔτε ἐπὶ μνήμης ὅλως φέρειν·</p> <p>ὅθεν λαμβάνοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφορμὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν</p>	<p>(11.7) Hec igitur mala et plura alia deteriora hiis,</p> <p>o imperator, de diis suis astruunt. Que nec dicere lex nec in memoria pro reatu cuncta michi referre <i>non licet, ne non solum homines, set etiam sol lucis sue radios subtrahat stomachatus.</i></p> <p>Quam ob rem accipiunt homines occasionem diis</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>to do all wicked and impure things: and thereby the whole earth has been corrupted.</p> <p>(12.1)</p>		<p>αὐτῶν ἔπραττον πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, καταμιαίνοντες γῆν τε καὶ ἀέρα ταῖς μιαραῖς αὐτῶν μίξεσιν.</p> <p>(12.1)</p>	<p>suis faciunt omnem iniquitatem et fornicationes et impietatem et sordibus replent terram et aerem duris suis actibus.</p> <p>(12.1) <i>Refugit autem sensus et lingua expedire sublimitati uestre, o imperator, abhominaciones atque insipientiam Egiptiorum</i></p>
	<p>Now the Egyptians, because they are more evil and ignorant than all peoples upon the earth, have erred more than all men. For the worship of the Barbarians and the Greeks did not suffice them, but they introduced also the nature of beasts, and said concerning it that they were gods: and also of the creeping things which are</p>		<p>Αἰγύπτιοι δέ, ἀβελτερώτεροι καὶ ἀφρονέστεροι τούτων ὄντες, χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπλανήθησαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἠρκέσθησαν τοῖς τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων σεβάσμασιν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ ἄλογα ζῷα παρεισήγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι</p>	<p>et uecordiores omnibus hiis uisi sunt et deterius cunctis generibus errauerunt. Non suffecerant illis Chaldeorum Ellinumque uenerationes, set introduxerunt irrationabilia animalia deos esse et</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek B&I	Latin
	<p>found on dry land and in the waters, and of the plants and herbs they have said that some of them are gods, and they have become corrupt in all madness and impurity more</p> <p>than all peoples that are upon the earth. (12.2) For of old time they worshipped Isis: and they say that she forsooth is a goddess, who had forsooth a husband Osiris, her brother; but when forsooth Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon,</p> <p>Isis fled with her son Horus</p>		<p>χερσαῖά τε καὶ ἔνυδρα, καὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ βλαστά,</p> <p>καὶ ἐμίανθησαν ἐν πάσῃ μανίᾳ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ</p> <p>χεῖρον πάντων τῶν ἔθνων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς. (12.2) Ἀρχῆθεν γὰρ ἐσέβοντο τὴν Ἥσιν</p> <p>ἔχουσαν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν Ὅσιριν, τὸν σφαγέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ</p> <p>Τυφῶνος.</p> <p>Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο</p> <p>φεύγει ἡ Ἥσις μετὰ Ὁρου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς εἰς</p>	<p><i>desertaque et inuia arbores atque herbarum germina,</i></p> <p><i>et coinquinati sunt pre omnibus, pro dolor, bachatione atque luxuria deterius cunctis gentibus que super terram sunt. (12.2) In principio coluerunt Ysidem</i></p> <p><i>habentem germanum Osyrim qui interfectus est a</i></p> <p><i>Tiphone fratre suo pro ablatione regni. Que pre timore ne et ipsa et Orus filius paruus accoderentura Tiphone, fugit in ciuitatem</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>to Byblos in Syria</p> <p>and</p> <p>was there for a certain time until that her son was grown: and he</p> <p>contended with his uncle Typhon and killed him, (12.3) and thereupon Isis returned and went about with her son Horus, and was seeking for the body of Osiris her lord, and bitterly bewailing his death. If therefore Isis be a goddess, and was not able to help Osiris her brother and lord, how is it possible that she should help others? Whereas it is impossible that the divine nature should be afraid and flee, or weep and wail. Otherwise it is</p>		<p>Βύβλον τῆς Συρίας ζητοῦσα τὸν Ὅσιριν</p> <p>καὶ πικρῶς θρηνοῦσα,</p> <p>ἕως ἠὔξησεν ὁ Ὀρος</p> <p>καὶ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Τυφῶνα. (12.3)</p> <p>Οὔτε οὖν ἡ Ἴσις ἴσχυσε βοηθῆσαι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀνδρί,</p>	<p>Syrie Biblum, querens Osyridem <i>fratrem atque uirum suum et amarius eiulans</i></p> <p>donec creuit Orus qui cum auxilio Syrorum</p> <p>uicit et occidit Tiphonem. (12.3)</p> <p>Neque ergo Ysis potuit proprio uiro ac fratri</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>a great misfortune. But of Osiris they say that he is a god, a beneficent one; and he was killed by Typhon and could not help himself; and it is evident that this cannot be said of Deity. And again they say of Typhon, his brother, that he is a god, a fratricide, and slain by his brother's son and wife since he was unable to help himself. And how can one who does not help himself be a god?</p> <p>(12.4) Now because the Egyptians</p>		<p>οὔτε Ὅσιρις</p> <p>σφαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυφῶνος ἡδυνήθη ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἑαυτοῦ,</p> <p>οὔτε Τυφῶν</p> <p>ὁ ἀδελφοκτόνος</p> <p>ἀπολλύμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀρου καὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος εὐπόρησε ῥύσασθαι ἑαυτὸν τοῦ θανάτου.</p> <p>Καὶ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις ἀτυχήμασι γνωρισθέντων αὐτῶν,</p> <p>θεοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσυνέτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐνομίσθησαν,</p> <p>(12.4) οἵτινες</p>	<p>suo auxiliari nec Osyris</p> <p>preualuit occisus a Tiphone</p> <p>sibimet subuenire</p> <p>nec Tiphon</p> <p>fratricida</p> <p>perditus ab Oro et Yside preualuit eripi se ipsum ex morte.</p> <p>Et sub talibus infelicitatibus atque casibus cogniti dii ab insipientibus Egiptiis estimati sunt.</p> <p>(12.4) Qui</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>are more ignorant than the rest of the people, these are the like gods, did not suffice them,</p> <p>but they also put the name of gods on the beasts which are merely soulless. For some men among them worship the sheep, and others</p> <p>the calf; and some of them the pig, and and others the shad-fish;</p> <p>and some of them the crocodile, and the hawk, and the cormorant, and the kite, and the vulture, and the eagle, and the crow; some of them worship the cat, and others the fish Shibbuta; some of them the</p>		<p>μηδὲ ἐν τούτοις ἀρκεσθέντες ἢ τοῖς λοιποῖς σεβάσμασι τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ</p> <p>τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα παρεισέγαγον θεοὺς εἶναι.</p> <p>Τινὲς γὰρ αὐτῶν</p> <p>ἐσεβάσθησαν πρόβατον, τινὲς δὲ τράγον, ἕτεροι δὲ μόσχον καὶ τὸν χοῖρον, ἄλλοι δὲ</p> <p>τὸν κόρακα καὶ τὸν ἰέρακα καὶ τὸν γῦπα καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν κροκόδειλον,</p> <p>τινὲς δὲ</p> <p>αἴλουρον</p> <p>καὶ</p>	<p>nec in hiis sufficientes aut in reliquis uenerationibus gentium, et</p> <p>certera animalia introducunt deos esse,</p> <p>quidam</p> <p>uero yrcum,</p> <p>alteri autem uitulum ac suem, alii autem</p> <p>coruum et ancipitrem ac uulturem et aquilam, et alii corcodillum,</p> <p>nonnulli uero</p> <p>erulos</p> <p>ac</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>dog,</p> <p>and</p> <p>some of them</p> <p>the serpent, and</p> <p>some the asp,</p> <p>and others the</p> <p>lion, and others</p> <p>garlic, and</p> <p>onions,</p> <p>and thorns, and</p> <p>others the</p> <p>leopard, and the</p> <p>like.</p> <p>(12.5) And the</p> <p>poor wretches</p> <p>do not perceive</p> <p>with regard to</p> <p>all these things</p> <p>that they are</p> <p>nought;</p> <p>while every day</p> <p>they look upon</p> <p>their gods, who</p> <p>are eaten and</p> <p>destroyed</p> <p>by</p> <p>men,</p> <p>yea even by</p> <p>their own</p> <p>fellows; and</p> <p>some of them</p> <p>being burned,</p> <p>and some of</p> <p>them dying and</p> <p>putrifying and</p> <p>becoming</p> <p>refuse;</p> <p>and</p> <p>they do not</p> <p>understand that</p>		<p>κύνα καὶ τὸν</p> <p>λύκον καὶ τὸν</p> <p>πίθηκον καὶ</p> <p>δράκοντα καὶ</p> <p>τὴν ἀσπίδα,</p> <p>καὶ ἄλλοι</p> <p>τὸ</p> <p>κρόμμυον καὶ</p> <p>τὸ σκόροδον</p> <p>καὶ ἄκανθαν</p> <p>καὶ τὰ</p> <p>λοιπὰ</p> <p>κτίσματα.</p> <p>(12.5) Καὶ οὐκ</p> <p>αἰσθάνονται οἱ</p> <p>ταλαίπωροι</p> <p>περὶ πάντων</p> <p>τούτων ὅτι</p> <p>οὐδὲν</p> <p>ἰσχύουσιν.</p> <p>Ὅρωντες γὰρ</p> <p>τοὺς θεοὺς</p> <p>αὐτῶν</p> <p>βιβρωσκομ-</p> <p>ένους ὑπὸ</p> <p>ἐτέρων</p> <p>ἀνθρώπων</p> <p>καὶ</p> <p>καιομένους καὶ</p> <p>σφαττομένους</p> <p>καὶ</p> <p>σηπομένους</p>	<p>canem et</p> <p>lupum</p> <p>ac pithacum uel</p> <p>draconem,</p> <p>asidem,</p> <p>et alii</p> <p>cepam et</p> <p>allium</p> <p>et spinam</p> <p>atque</p> <p>reliquas</p> <p>creaturas.</p> <p>(12.5) Et</p> <p>non</p> <p>confundebantur</p> <p>infelices pro</p> <p>omnibus hiis</p> <p>quoniam nichil</p> <p>preualent.</p> <p>Aspicientes</p> <p>quippini</p> <p>comesos</p> <p>ab</p> <p>hominibus</p> <p>ac</p> <p>incensos atque</p> <p>instinctos</p> <p>uel fracidos</p> <p>tineisque</p> <p>comesos</p> <p>pre</p> <p>uetustate,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>they are destroyed in many ways. And accordingly the Egyptians have not understood that the like of these are not gods, since their salvation is not within their own power; and if they are too weak for their own salvation, then as regard the salvation of their worshippers pray whence will they have the power to help them?</p> <p>(13.1)</p> <p>The Egyptians then have erred with a great error,</p> <p>above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. But it is a matter of wonder, O king, concerning the Greeks,</p> <p>whereas they excel all</p>		<p>οὐ συνῆκαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί.</p> <p>(13.1)</p> <p>Πλάνην οὖν μεγάλην ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ τε Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ</p> <p>οἱ Ἕλληνες τοιούτους παρεισάγοντες θεοὺς</p>	<p>non intellexerunt de ipsis quia ipsi dii non sunt.</p> <p>(13.1)</p> <p>Errore maximo errauerunt itaque Egiptii Chaldeique et</p> <p>Ellines, tales constituentes deos</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>the rest of the peoples in their manners and in their reason, how thus they have gone astray after dead idols</p> <p>and senseless images: while they see their gods</p> <p>sawn</p> <p>and polished by their makers, and curtailed and cut and burnt and shaped and transformed into every shape by them.</p> <p>And when they are grown old and fail by the length of time, and are melted and broken in pieces, how is it that they do not understand</p>		<p>καὶ ἀγάλματα αὐτῶν ποιοῦντες καὶ θεοποιούμενοι τὰ κωφὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα εἴδωλα. Καὶ θαυμάζω πῶς – ὁρῶντες τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν πριζομένους καὶ πελεκωμένους καὶ</p> <p>κολοβουμένους, παλαιουμένους τε</p> <p>ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀναλυομένους καὶ χωνευομένους – οὐκ</p>	<p>et agalmata eorum facientes, deificantes ydola surda atque insensata. Et miror quomodo inspicientes deos suos ab artificibus securibus sectos et decurtatos ac leuigatos</p> <p>inueteratosque</p> <p>ex tempore et immutatos atque colliquantos non</p> <p>sapuerunt nec</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>concerning them that they are not gods? And those who have not ability for their own preservation,</p> <p>how will they be able to take care of men? (13.2-3) But even the poets and philosophers</p> <p>among them being in error have introduced concerning them that they are gods, things like these which are made for the honour of God Almighty; and being in error they seek to make them like to God as to</p>		<p>ἐφρόνησαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοί. Ὅτε γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσι, πῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόνοιαν ποιήσονται; (13.2-3) Ἄλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ αὐτῶν καὶ φιλόσοφοι, τῶν τε Χαλδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, θελήσαντες τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτῶν καὶ συγγραφαῖς σεμνῶναι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοὺς, μειζόνως τὴν αἰσχύνην αὐτῶν ἐξεκάλυψαν καὶ γυμνὴν πᾶσι προὔθηκαν.</p>	<p>intellexerunt quoniam non sunt dii. Cum ex propria namque salute sua nichil agere ualuerunt, quomodo hominibus procuratio-nem faciunt? (13.2-3) Sed factores ipsorum ac philosophi Chaldeorum Ellinumque ac Egyptiorum, uolentes facturis suis ac conspect- ionibus insignire aput se deos magnos, confusionem ipsorum denudati sunt et nudum omnibus apposuerunt.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>whom no man has ever seen to whom He is like; not is he able to see Him; and together with these things they introduce concerning Deity as if it were that deficiency were found with it; in that they say that He accepts sacrifice and asks for burnt-offering and libation and murders of men and temples. But God is not needy, and none of these things is sought for by Him: and it is clear that men are in error in those things that they imagine. But their poets and philosophers introduce and say, that the nature of all their gods is one; but they have not understood of God our Lord, that while He is one, He is yet in all. They, then, are in</p>			

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>error; for if, while the body of man is many in its parts, no member is afraid of its fellow, but whilst it is a composite body, all is on an equality with all: so also God who is one in His nature has a single essence proper to Him,</p> <p>and He is equal in His nature and His essence, nor is He afraid and Himself.</p> <p>If therefore the nature of the gods is one, it is not proper that a god should persecute a god, nor kill nor do him that which is evil. (13.4) If then gods were persecuted and transfixed by gods,</p>		<p>Εἰ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολυμερὲς ὄν οὐκ ἀποβάλλεται τι τῶν ἰδίων μελῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς</p> <p>πάντα τὰ μέλη ἀδιάρρηκτον ἔνωσιν ἔχον ἑαυτῷ ἔστι σύμφωνον,</p> <p>πῶς ἐν φύσει θεοῦ μάχη καὶ διαφωνία τοσαύτη ἔσται; Εἰ γὰρ μία φύσις τῶν θεῶν ὑπῆρχεν, οὐκ ὄφειλον θεὸς θεὸν διώκειν οὔτε σφάζειν οὔτε κακοποιεῖν. (13.4) Εἰ δὲ οἱ θεοὶ ὑπὸ θεῶν</p>	<p>Si enim corpus hominis ex multis partibus consistat, non abicit aliquid propriorum membrorum, set ab</p> <p>omnia membra indissolubilem unionem habens, sibi ipso est conueniens.</p> <p>Quomodo in natura Dei contrarium et dissonantia tanta erit? Si autem una natura deorum fuisset, non forte deus deum persequeretur nec interficeret nec noceret ei. (13.4) Si autem dii a</p> <p>diis</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>and some of them were carried off and some were struck by lightning;</p> <p>it is clear that the nature of their gods is not one,</p> <p>and hence it is clear, O king, that that is an error which they speculate about the nature of their gods, and that they reduce them to one nature.</p> <p>(13.5) If then it is proper that we should admire a god who is visible and does not see, how much more is this worthy of admiration that a man should believe in a nature which is invisible and all-seeing! and if again it is right that a man should investigate the works of an</p>		<p>ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἐσφάγησαν καὶ ἡρπάγησαν καὶ ἐκεραυνώθησαν, οὐκέτι μία φύσις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ γινώμαι</p> <p>διηρημέναι, πᾶσαι κακοποιοί· ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστι θεός. Φανερόν οὖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, πλάνην εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τῶν θεῶν φυσιολογίαν.</p> <p>(13.5)</p>	<p>pulsi sunt et interfecti ac fulminati sunt et ablati sunt furtim, non insuper una natura est, set uoluntates</p> <p>diuise omnes malefactiones; quocirca nullus eorum deus est. Manifestum est igitur, o imperator, seductionem esse omnem quam dicunt de natura deorum.</p> <p>(13.5)</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>artificer, how much more is it right that he should praise the Maker of the artificer! For behold!</p> <p>while the Greeks have established laws, they have not understood that by their laws they were condemning their gods; for if their laws are just, their gods are unjust,</p> <p>who have committed transgression in killing one another and practising sorcery, committing adultery, plundering, stealing and sleeping with males, along with the rest of their other doings.</p>		<p>Πῶς δὲ οὐ συνῆκαν οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ λόγοι τοῦ Ἑλλήνων ὅτι νόμους θέμενοι κρίνονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων;</p> <p>Εἰ γὰρ οἱ νόμοι δίκαιοί εἰσιν, ἄδικοι πάντως οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν εἰσι παράνομα ποιήσαντες, ἀλληλοκτονίας καὶ φαρμακείας καὶ μοιχείας</p> <p>καὶ κλοπὰς καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτίας.</p> <p>Εἰ δὲ καλῶς ἔπραξαν ταῦτα, οἱ νόμοι ἄρα ἄδικοί εἰσι, κατὰ τῶν θεῶν συντεθέντες.</p>	<p>Quare non intellexerunt sapientes ac rationabiles Ellinum quoniam qui ponunt leges, iudicant ea que in propriis legibus continentur.</p> <p>Si enim leges iuste sunt, iniusti omnio dii sunt qui preuaricantes fecerunt ad alterutrum homicidia et uenena aliis dederunt et adulteria</p> <p>furtaque et marium concubitus.</p> <p>Si quippe hec iuste fecerunt, ergo iniusti sunt iura aduersus deos constituta.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>But if their gods excellently and as they describe have done all these things,</p> <p>then the laws of the Greeks are unjust;</p> <p>and they are not laid down according to the will of the gods; and in this the whole world has erred.</p> <p>(13.6) For as for the histories of their gods, some of them are myths,</p> <p>some of them physical, and some hymns and songs: the hymns and songs, then, are empty words</p>		<p>Νυνὶ δὲ οἱ νόμοι καλοὶ εἰσι καὶ δίκαιοι, τὰ καλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀπαγορεύοντες·</p> <p>τὰ δὲ ἔργα τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν παράνομα· παράνομοι</p> <p>ἄρα οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔνοχοι πάντες θανάτου καὶ ἀσεβεῖς οἱ τοιοῦτους θεοὺς παρεισάγοντες.</p> <p>(13.6) Εἰ μὲν γὰρ μυθικαὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαι,</p> <p>οὐδὲν εἰσὶν εἰ μὴ</p>	<p>Nunc autem quia iura qui bona sunt et iusti qui bona attollunt et mala renuunt,</p> <p>acta namque deorum illorum illicita; illiciti ergo</p> <p>dii ipsorum et debiti omnes morte qui tales introducunt deos.</p> <p>(13.6) Si uero fabulose sunt ystorie de ipsis,</p> <p>nichil sunt nisi solum</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>and sound; and as to the physical, if they were done as they say, then they are not gods, since they have done these things and suffered and endured these things: and these myths are flimsy words, altogether devoid of force.</p> <p>(14.1) Let us come now, O king, also to the history of the Jews and let us see what sort</p>		<p>μόνον λόγοι·</p> <p>εἰ δὲ φυσικαί, οὐκέτι θεοί· εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα ποιήσαντες καὶ παθόντες·</p> <p>εἰ δὲ ἀλληγορικαί, μῦθοι εἰσι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο τι. (13.7)</p> <p>Ἀποδέδεικται τοίνυν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα πάντα τὰ πολύθεα σεβάσματα πλάνης ἔργα καὶ ἀπωλείας ὑπάρχειν. Οὐ γὰρ θεοὺς ὀνομάζειν ὁρατοὺς καὶ μὴ ὁρῶντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον καὶ πάντα ὁρῶντα καὶ πάντα δημιουργήσαντα δεῖ θεὸν σέβεσθαι.</p> <p>(14.1) Ἔλθωμεν οὖν, βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὅπως ἴδωμεν τί</p>	<p>sermones;</p> <p>si autem naturales, dii non sunt qui talia fecerunt et passi sunt;</p> <p>si autem allegorice, fabule sunt et nichil aliquid. (13.7)</p> <p>Recipitur tamen, o imperator, hec omnia diuersorum deorum ueneramina errorum opera ac perditiones esse. Non licet autem deos nominare uisibiles ac non uisibiles; set inuisibilem deum omnipotentem et aspicientem et creantem omnia decet deum uenerari.</p> <p>(14.1) Ueniamus igitur, imperator, <i>ad Hebreos quatenus</i></p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	of opinion they have concerning God.		<p>φρονοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ θεοῦ. Οὗτοι γὰρ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ὄντες ἀπόγονοι, Ἰσαάκ τε καὶ Ἰακώβ,</p> <p>παρώκησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. (14.2) Ἐξήγαγε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ νομοθέτου αὐτῶν, καὶ τέρασι πολλοῖς καὶ σημείοις ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν. Ἄλλ’ ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι πολλάκις ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν σεβάσμασι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν. Εἴτα ὡς εὐδόκησεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ</p>	<p><i>conspiciamus quid sentiunt et ipsi de deo. Hii enim cum Hebrae et Ysaac atque Iacob essent nepotes, peregrinati sunt in Egiptum;</i> (14.2)<i>eduxit autem deus illos exinde in manu potenti et brachio excelso per Moysen legislatorem eorum et prodigiis plurimis ac signis innotuit eis potentiam suam.</i></p> <p>Sed non bene uolentes et ipsi ingrati uisi sunt; sepe seruierunt ritibus gentium illorumque adorantes deos et premissos profetas ac iustos occiderunt, ita ut placuisset Filio Dei</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>(14.3-4) The Jews then say</p> <p>that God is one, Creator of all and almighty: and that it is not proper for us that anything else should be worshipped, but this God only: and in this they appear to be much nearer to the truth than all the peoples, in that they worship God more exceedingly and not His works; and they imitate God by</p>		<p>ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐμπαροινή- σαντες εἰς αὐτὸν προέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ σταυρῶ κατεδίκασαν, μὴ αἰδεσθέντες τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀναρίθμητα θαύματα ἅπερ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο· καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῇ ιδίᾳ παρανομίᾳ. (14.3-4)</p> <p>Σέβονται γὰρ καὶ νῦν τὸν θεὸν μόνον</p> <p>παντοκράτορα,</p>	<p>uenire in terram, delinquentes in eum tradiderunt Pilato duci Romanorum et cruci dampnauerunt, non erubescentes beneficia ac innumera miracula eius que in ipsis operatus est, et perierunt in propria sua iniquitate. (14.3-4)</p> <p>Adorant modo et deum solum</p> <p>omnipotentem,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>reason of the love which they have for man; for they have compassion on the poor and ransom the captive and bury the dead, and do things of a similar nature to these: things which are acceptable to God and are well-pleasing also to men, things which they have received from their fathers of old.</p> <p>Nevertheless they too have gone astray from accurate knowledge, and they suppose in their minds that they are serving God, but in the methods of their actions their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast, and the fast, and circumcision, and cleanness</p>		<p>ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν·</p>	<p>set non secundum scientiam.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>of meats: which things not even thus have they perfectly observed.</p> <p>(15.1) Now the Christians,</p>		<p>τὸν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἄρνοῦνται, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰσὶ παρόμοιοι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐγγίζειν πως τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δοκῶσιν, ἥς ἑαυτοὺς ἐμάκρυναν. Ταῦτα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.</p> <p>(15.1) Οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οὗτος δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὡμολόγηται, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβάς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας γεννηθεὶς ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθόρως σάρκα</p>	<p>Cristum enim Filium Dei negant et sunt preuaricatores, equales gentibus, quamuis appropriare ueritati estimantur prolongantes se ipsos. Hec, imperator, de Iudesis succincte disputauimus.</p> <p>(15.1) Christianorum namque generatio supputatura domino Ihesu Christo. Sic autem Filius Dei excelsi confitetur in Spiritu Sancto, qui de celo descendens propter salutem hominum, ex Uirgine sancta natus est sine semine incorruptusque carnem</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>O king, by going about and seeking have found the truth, and as we have comprehended from their writings</p>		<p>ἀνέλαβε καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλέσεται. Καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐγεύσατο ἐκουσία βουλῇ κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην·</p> <p>μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνεβίω καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνῆλθεν. Οὗ τὸ κλέος τῆς παρουσίας ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης ἁγίας καὶ</p> <p>εὐαγγελικῆς γραφῆς ἔξεστί σοι γνῶναι, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν ἐντύχῃς. (15.2) Οὗτος δώδεκα ἔσχε μαθητάς, οἱ μετὰ</p>	<p>assumpsit et uisus est hominibus, quatenus ex multitudine deorum illos reuocaret, et perficiens mirabilem suam ordinationem per crucem mortem gustavit spontanea uoluntate secundum magnam dispositionem. Post tres namque dies resurgens ascendit in celis, uisus presentie gloria ex ea que ab ipsis uocatur santa</p> <p>Scriptura euangeliorum declaratur. Expedit tibi, o imperator, scire si consequeris. (15.2) Iste duodecim discipulos habuit, qui, post</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	they are		<p>τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀνοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον εἰς</p> <p>τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεγαλωσύνην· καθάπερ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰς καθ’ ἡμᾶς περιῆλθε</p> <p>χώρας τὸ δόγμα κηρύσσων τῆς ἀληθείας. Ὅθεν οἱ εἰσέτι διακονοῦντες τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ κηρύγματος αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Χριστιανοί.</p> <p>(15.3) Καὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ</p> <p>πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς</p> <p>εὐρόντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν· γινώσκουσι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν</p> <p>τῶν ἀπάντων</p>	<p>reditum eius in celis, exierunt in omnes prefecturas orbis terre et glorificauerunt eius magnitudinem, sicut unus ex eis ad eam que apud nos est uenit prouinciam, doctrinam predicans ueritatis. Unde et qui post ministrauerunt iustite predicationis eorum, uocantur christiani.</p> <p>(15.3) Et hii sunt super</p> <p>omnes gentes terre, qui omni conamine inueniunt ueritatem. Sciunt enim deum factorem ac creatorem</p> <p>omnium</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>His fellow: from whom they received those</p> <p>commandments</p> <p>which they have engraved on their minds, which they keep in the hope and expectation of</p> <p>the world to come; (15.4-6) so that on this account they do not commit adultery nor fornication, they do not bear false witness they do not deny a deposit, nor covert what is not theirs: they honour father and mother; they do good to those who are their neighbours, and</p>		<p>ἐν υἱῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, καὶ ἄλλον θεὸν πλὴν τούτου οὐ σέβονται. Ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν</p> <p>ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμέναις, καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι</p> <p>προσδοκῶντες ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. (15.4-6)</p> <p>Οὐ μοιχεύουσιν, οὐ πορνεύουσιν, οὐ ψευδομαρ- τυροῦσιν,</p> <p>οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὰ ἑτερότρια, τιμῶσι πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ τοὺς πλησίον</p> <p>φιλοῦσι,</p>	<p>in Filio unigenito et Spiritu Sancto, at alterum deum preter hunc non uenerantur. Habent precepta ipsius Domini nostri Ihesu Christi</p> <p>conscripta in cordibus suis et hec obseruant,</p> <p>expectantes resurrectionem mortuorum et uitam futuri seculi. (15.4-6)</p> <p>Non adulterant nec fornicantur nec falsum testimonium reddunt</p> <p>nec concupiscunt extranea, honorant patrem ac matrem et proprinquos</p> <p>diligunt,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	when they are judges they judge uprightly; and they do not worship idols in the form of man; and whatever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not practise towards any one, and they do not eat of the meats of idol sacrifices, for they are undefiled: and those who grieve them they comfort, and make them their friends; and		δίκαια κρίνουσιν, ὅσα οὐ θέλουσιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἑτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσι,	iuste iudicant, quecumque nolunt sibi fieri, altero non faciunt.
πειθον[τε]ς και τους εχθρους ευ ποιησαι	they do good to their enemies:		τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι καὶ προσφιλεῖς ἑαυτοῖς ποιοῦσι, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐεργετεῖν	Molestantes illos obsecrant et dilectos illos faciunt sibi. Inimicis autem bene
και αι γυναικες αυτων αγναι και παρθενοι εισιν και ταις γαστρασιν ουκ υποτιθεασιν οι δε ανδρες αυτων ενκρατευονται απο πασης	and their wives, O king, are pure as virgins, and their daughters modest: and their men abstain from all		σπουδάζουσι, πραεῖς εἰσι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς, ἀπὸ πάσης	facere festinant, mansueti sunt et clementes, ab omni

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>συνουσιας ανομου και</p> <p>ακοθαρσιας μαλλον δε και αι γυναικες ομοιως ενκρατευονται ελπιδος γαρ μεγαλης αντεχονται της μαλλουσης</p> <p>αλλα και</p> <p>δουλους η παιδισκας εαν εχωσιν η τεκνα</p> <p>πειθουσιν αυτους χρειστιανους γενεσθαι ινα εχωσιν ευνοους και οταν</p> <p>γενωνται τοιουτοι αδελφους καλουσιν αυτους αμεριστοι οντες θεους αλλοτριους ου προσκυνουσιν</p> <p>πραεις και επιεικεις και αιδημονες και απευδεις εισιν</p> <p>και αλληλους αγαπωσιν</p>	<p>unlawful wedlock and from all impurity,</p> <p>in the hope of the recompense that is to come in another world: but as for their servants or handmaids, or their children if any of them have any, they persuade them to become Christians</p> <p>for the love that they have towards them; and when they have become so, they call them without distinction brethren: they do not worship strange gods:</p> <p>and they walk in all humility and kindness, and</p> <p>falsehood is found among them, and they love one another: and</p>		<p>συνουσίας ἀνόμου καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας</p> <p>ἐγκρατεύονται,</p>	<p>copulatione iniusta et ab omni immunditia</p> <p>abstinent,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>χήραν ουκ υπερορωσιν</p> <p>ορφανον δε σωζουσιν</p> <p>ο εχων τω</p> <p>μη εχοντι ανεπιφθονως χορηγουσιν</p> <p>ξενους ινα ειδωσιν υπο την ιδιαν στεγην εις αγουσιν και χαιρουσιν επ αυτω ως επι αδελφω αληθινω ου γαρ</p> <p>κατα σαρκα αδελφους εαυτους καλουσιν αλλα κατα ψυχην</p> <p>(15.7-8) τελευτω]ντα δε πενητα εαν</p> <p>ειδωσιν</p>	<p>from the widows they do not turn away their countenance: and they rescue the orphan from him who does him violence: and he who has gives to him who has not, without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings,</p> <p>and rejoice over him as over a true brother; for they do not call</p> <p>brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit and in God:</p> <p>(15.7-8) but when one of their poor passes away from the world, and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability;</p>		<p>χήραν οὐχ ὑπερορῶσιν,</p> <p>ὀρφανὸν οὐ</p> <p>λυποῦσιν· ὁ ἔχων τῷ</p> <p>μὴ ἔχοντι ἀφθόνως ἐπιχορηγεῖ·</p> <p>ξένον ἐὰν ἴδωσιν ὑπὸ</p> <p>στέγην εἰσάγουσι καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῷ ἀληθινῷ· οὐ γὰρ</p> <p>κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν.</p> <p>(15.7-8)</p>	<p>uiduam non despiciunt,</p> <p>orphanos non</p> <p>contristant; qui habent inter eos, largiter non harbenti impedit;</p> <p>extorres si conspexerint,</p> <p>sub tectis inducunt et gaudent super illos tanquam sunt ueraces fratres; non enim ipsos qui secundum carnem sunt, fratres sibi appellant, set qui secundum animam.</p> <p>(15.7-8)</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>καθ' ἑκάστ]ος δυνανται αφθονως συμβαλλομενοι θαπτουσιν καταδικασθ- εντας δε η φυλακισθεν τας εαν ακουσωσιν</p> <p>ενεκεν του ονοματος του Χυ</p> <p>κατακεκρ- ιμενους συνβαλλομενοι πεμπουσιν αυτοις α χρε(ι)αν εχουσιν ει δυνατο]ν</p> <p>και ρυονται ει δε</p> <p>τις δουλος εστιν η πενης</p> <p>νηστευουσιν ημερας β η και γ</p> <p>και ο[τ]ι μελλουσ[ιν εαυτοις τειθεναι</p>	<p>and if they hear that any of their number is imprisoned or oppressed for the name of their Messiah,</p> <p>all of them provide for his needs, and if it is possible that he may be delivered, they deliver him. And if there is among them a man that is poor or needy, and they have not an abundance of necessaries, they fast two or three days that they may supply the needy with their necessary food.</p>		<p>Ἔτοιμοί εἰσιν ὑπὲρ</p> <p>Χριστοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προέσθαι·</p>	<p>Parati enim sunt pro</p> <p>Christo animas suas ponere,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>πεμπουσιν εκεινοι[ς] † οιομενοι αυτοι ευφρανεσθαι ως αυτοι επ ευφασια<v> κεκλησθαι † και τα προσταγματα του θυ ασφαλως φυλαττουσιν</p> <p>οσιως και δικαιως ζωντες και ως κς ο θς αυτοις προσεταξεν ευχαριστουσιν αυτω κατα πρωϊας και πασαν ωραν</p> <p>εν παντι βρωτω και ποτω και τοις λοιποις αγαθοις</p> <p>(15.9) εαν δε και αποθανη τις ευσεβης εξ αυτων χαιρουσιν και ευχαριστουσιν και προσευχονται περι αυτου και</p>	<p>And they observe scrupulously the commandments of their Messiah: they live honestly and soberly, as the Lord their God commanded them:</p> <p>every morning and at all hours on account of the goodnesses of God toward them they praise and laud Him: and over their food and over their drink</p> <p>they render Him thanks. (15.9) And if any righteous person of their number passes away from the world they rejoice and give thanks to God, and</p>		<p>τὰ γὰρ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσιν</p> <p>ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες, καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν,</p> <p>ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς.</p> <p>(15.9)</p>	<p>precepta autem ipsius firmiter custodiunt,</p> <p>sancte iusteque uiuentes sicut et Dominus Deus ipsis precepit, agentes ei gratiam per omnem horam</p> <p>in</p> <p>cibo ac potu et reliquis bonis.</p> <p>(15.9)</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>προπεμπουσιν ως αποδημουντα επαν δε τεκνον γεννηθη αυτοις ευχαριστουσιν τω θω εαν δε νηπιον εξελθη υπερευχα- ριστουσιν οτι</p> <p>αναμαρτητο<v> απηλθεν εαν δε</p> <p>αμαρτιας τις εχων αποθανη</p> <p>κλαιουσιν ως επι κολασιν απερχο[χ- ο]μενου αυτου ταυτα ουν</p> <p>ω βασιλευ τα δογματα αυτων εισιν</p> <p>(16.1-2) ων χρειαν αυτοι εχοντες του θυ αιτουνται παρ</p>	<p>they follow his body, as if he were moving from one place to another: and when a child is born to any one of them, they praise God, and if again it chance to die in its infancy, they praise God mightily, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And if again they see that one of their number has died in his iniquity or in his sins, over this one they weep bitterly and sigh, as over one who is about to go to punishment:</p> <p>such is the ordinance of the law of the Christians, O king, and such their conduct.</p> <p>(16.1-2) As men who know God, they ask from</p>		<p>(16.1-2)</p>	<p>(16.1-2)</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
<p>αυτου</p> <p>και ου τως διαπερωσιν τον κοσμον τουτον μεχρι τελειωσεως χρονων οτι ο θς αυτοις παντα υπεταξεν δουλα ευχαριστοι ουν εισιν αυτω και δι αυτου<ς> η συμπασα διοικησις εγινετο</p> <p>και η κτισις</p> <p>οντως ουν ουτοι ευρον</p>	<p>Him petitions which are proper for Him to give and for them to receive: and thus they accomplish the course of their lives. And because they acknowledge the goodness of</p> <p>God towards them, lo!</p> <p>on account of them</p> <p>there flows forth the beauty that is in the world. And truly they are of the number of those that have found</p> <p>the truth</p>		<p>Ὅντως οὖν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, ἣτις τοὺς ὁδεύοντας αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον χειραγωγεῖ βασιλείαν, τὴν ἐπηγγελμένην παρὰ κυρίου ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ζωῇ. (16.4) Καὶ</p>	<p>Certe igitur hec est uia ueritatis quam qui ambulant, ducit ad eternum regnum promissum a Christo in futura uita. (16.4) Et</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>by going about and seeking it, and as far as we have comprehended, we have understood that they only are near to the knowledge of the truth.</p> <p>But the good deeds which they do, they do not proclaim in the ears of the multitude, and they take care that no one shall perceive them, and hide their gift, as he who has found a treasure and hides it. And they labour to become</p>		<p>ἵνα γνῶς, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπ’ ἐμαντοῦ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐγκύψας τῶν Χριστιανῶν</p> <p>εὐρήσεις</p> <p>οὐδὲν ἐξωθεν</p> <p>τῆς ἀληθείας με λέγειν.</p>	<p>ut scias apertius, o speciosissime imperator, quoniam non a me ipsi talia maiestati tue expedio, set in Scripturis incumbens christianorum, si locutioni mee auditum prebueris,</p> <p>inuenies</p> <p>me nichil extra</p> <p>ueritatem dicentem, set ueraciter omnia secreta fidei nostre pandentem.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>righteous as those that expect to see their Messiah and receive from Him the promises made to them with great glory.</p> <p>(16.5) But their sayings and their ordinances, O king, and the glory of their service, and the expectation of their recompense of reward according to the doing of each one of them, which they expect in another world, thou art able to know from their writings. It sufficeth for us that we have briefly made known to your majesty concerning the conversation and the truth of the Christians.</p>		<p>(16.5)</p> <p>Καλῶς οὖν συνῆκεν ὁ υἱός σου καὶ δικαίως ἐδιδάχθη τοῦ λατρεύειν ζῶντι θεῷ καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὸν</p>	<p>(16.5)</p> <p>Optime igitur intellexit filius tuus et iustissime instructus est ministrare uiuenti Deo et saluari in</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>For truly great and wonderful is their teaching</p> <p>to him that is willing to examine and understand it. And truly this people is a new people, and there is something divine mingled with it. Take now their writings and read in them, and lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things forward nor as their advocate have I said them, but as I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things also that are to come. And therefore I was constrained to set forth the</p>		<p>μέλλοντα ἐπέρχεσθαι αἰῶνα. Μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ῥήματα λαλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.</p>	<p>seculo quod uenturum est. Sublimia namque et mirabiliora omnibus que a christianis dicuntur et operantur; non enim hominum famina locuntur, set ea que Dei sunt.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>truth to them that take pleasure therein and seek after the world to come. And I have no doubt that the world stands by reason of the intercession of Christians. (16.6) But the rest of the peoples are deceived and deceivers,</p> <p>rolling themselves before the elements of the world, according as the sight of their understanding is unwilling to pass by them; and they grope as if in the dark, because they are unwilling to know the truth, and like</p> <p>drunken men they stagger and thrust one another and fall down.</p>		<p>(16.6) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνη πλανῶνται καὶ πλανῶσιν ἑαυτούς·</p> <p>ὁδεύοντες γὰρ ἐν σκότει</p> <p>προσρήσσονται ἑαυτοῖς ὥς μεθύοντες.</p>	<p>(16.6) Cetere preterea gentes exorbitant et errantur, seducentes se ipsas.</p> <p>Ambulantes autem in tenebris,</p> <p>predibus offendiculum impendentes uelut ebrii.</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>(17.1) This far, O king, it is I that have spoken.</p> <p>For as to what remains, as was said above, there are found in their other writings words which are difficult to speak, or that one should repeat them; things which are not only said, but actually done. The Greeks, then, O king, because they practise foul things in sleeping with males, and with mother and sister and daughter, turn ridicule of their foulness upon the Christians; but the Christians are honest and pious, and the truth is set before their eyes, and they are long-suffering; and therefore while they know their error and are buffeted by</p>		<p>(17.1) Ἔως ὧδε ὁ πρὸς σέ μου λόγος, βασιλεῦ,</p>	<p>(17.1) Usque huc ad me sermo extitit, o imperator,</p>

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>them, they endure and suffer them: and more exceedingly do they pity them as men who are destitute of knowledge: and in their behalf they offer up prayers that they may turn from their error. And when it chances that one of them turns, he is ashamed before the Christians of the deeds that are done by him: and he confesses to God, saying, In ignorance I did these things: and he cleanses his heart, and his sins are forgiven him, because he did them in ignorance in former time, when he was blaspheming and reviling the true knowledge of Christians. And truly blessed is the race of the Christians, more than all men that are</p>			

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	upon the face of the earth.		ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νοῦ μου ὑπαγορευθείς. (17.3) Διὸ πανσάσθωσαν οἱ ἀνόητοί σου σοφοὶ ματαιολο- γοῦντες κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου·	necdum ueritati liquidius in sensu meo confessus sum. (17.3) Propter quod quiescant insipientes philosophi tui futilia loqui aduersus Deum omnipotentem,
	and who oppress the Christians and let them now speak the truth.			celum qui dextra terram gubernaculo tenet, et considera quoniam expedit quidem nobis Deum creatorem celi coli
	For it is better that they should worship the true God rather than that they should worship a sound without intelligence; and truly divine is that which is		συμφέρει γὰρ ὑμῖν θεὸν κτίστην σέβεσθαι	et incorruptibilia ipsius in auribus percipere uerba,
	spoken by the mouth of the Christians,		καὶ τὰ ἄφθαρτα αὐτοῦ ἐνωτίζεσθαι ῥήματα,	
	and		ἵνα— κατάκρισιν ἐκφυγόντες καὶ τιμωρίας— ζωῆς ἀνωλέθρου	ut condemp- nationem effugiamus et tormenta, uite incorruptibilis
	their teaching is			

Greek Frag.	Syriac	Armenian	Greek <i>B&I</i>	Latin
	<p>the gateway of light. Let all those then approach thereunto who do not know God, and let them receive incorruptible words, those which are so always and form eternity: let them, therefore, anticipate the dread judgement which is to come by Jesus the Messiah upon the whole race of men.</p> <p>The Apology of Aristides the Philosopher is ended.</p>		<p>δειχθείτε κληρονόμοι.</p>	<p>utrique efficiamur heredes.</p>

- 1) There is a section here which follows parallel to the Syriac version of the *Apology*.

Volk has not included this in his critical edition. This was originally discovered by Boissonade (p49). Interestingly Pouderon and Pierre do not include it in the main body of the text but at the end of the *Apology*. The manuscripts which attest to this extra parallel are *Iviron*, fol. 39^r, 1.2-13 (which is urtext) as well as *Scorialensis*, fol. 24^{ra}, 1.18 - 24^{rb}, 1.16 and *Parisinus*, fol 32^{rb}, 1.29 - 32^{va}, 1.15 (both of which are from Modification A). Interestingly the copy that the scribe of the Latin version did not have the longer Greek text to hand.

Appendix 3 - Text comparison of the Jewish and Christian chapters of the *Apology*

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Syriac (chapter 14)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 14)
Moreover the Jews	The Jews	Let us come now, O king, also to the history of the Jews and let us see what sort of opinion they have concerning God.	Ἔλθωμεν οὖν, βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ὅπως ἴδωμεν τί φρονοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ θεοῦ. Οὗτοι γὰρ τοῦ
reckon the head of their race from Abraham, who begat Isaac, from whom was born Jacob, who begat twelve sons who removed from Syria and settled in Egypt, and there were called the race of the Hebrews by	attribute the origin of their race to Abraham and his son Isaac and Isaac's Jacob and Jacob's dozen who went to Assyria and Egypt and there were called Hebrews by	(14.2)	Ἀβραὰμ ὄντες ἀπόγονοι, Ἰσαάκ τε καὶ Ἰακώβ, παρώκησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. (14.2)
their lawgiver: but at last	their legislator and then they went to the		Ἐξήγαγε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ διὰ Μωσέως τοῦ νομοθέτου αὐτῶν,

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Syriac (chapter 14)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 14)
they were named Jews.	Promised Land where they were called Jews.	(14.3-4) The Jews then say that God is one, Creator of all and almighty: and that it is not proper for us that anything else should be	καὶ τέρασι πολλοῖς καὶ σημείοις ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν. Ἀλλ' ἀγνώμονες καὶ αὐτοὶ φανέντες καὶ ἀχάριστοι πολλάκις ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν σεβάσμασι, καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους πρὸς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ δικαίους ἀπέκτειναν. Εἴτα ὡς εὐδόκησεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐμπαροινήσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν προέδωκαν Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ σταυρῶ κατεδίκασαν, μὴ αἰδεσθέντες τὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀναρίθμητα θαύματα ἃ περ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰργάσατο· καὶ ἀπώλοντο τῇ ἰδίᾳ παρανομίᾳ. (14.3-4) Σέβονται γὰρ καὶ νῦν τὸν θεὸν μόνον παντοκράτορα,

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Syriac (chapter 14)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 14)
		<p>worshipped, but this God only: and in this they appear to be much nearer to the truth than all the peoples, in that they worship God more exceedingly and not His works; and they imitate God by reason of the love which they have for man; for they have compassion on the poor and ransom the captive and bury the dead, and do things of a similar nature to these: things which are acceptable to God and are well-pleasing also to men, things which they have received from their fathers of old. Nevertheless they too have gone astray from accurate knowledge, and they suppose in their minds that they are serving God, but in the methods of their actions their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast, and the fast, and circumcision, and</p>	<p>ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν·</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Syriac (chapter 14)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 14)
		cleanness of meats: which things not even thus have they perfectly observed.	τὸν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἀρνοῦνται, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰσὶ παρόμοιοι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, κἂν ἐγγίξιν πως τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δοκῶσιν, ἥς ἑαυτοὺς ἐμάκρυναν. Ταῦτα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
The Christians, then, reckon the beginning of their religion from Jesus Christ, who is named the Son of God most High; and it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin	The Christians attribute their origin of their race to the Lord Jesus Christ. This is him the son of God in the Heavens who appeared as the Holy Spirit and descended from heaven to a Hebrew virgin		Now the Christians,	Οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ γενεαλογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οὗτος δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὡμολόγηται, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἀγίας γεννηθεὶς

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
<p>took and</p> <p>clad Himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God.</p> <p>This is taught from that</p> <p>Gospel which a little while ago</p> <p>was spoken among them</p>	<p>and was born</p> <p>taking a body form from the virgin to appear as human. The son of God</p> <p>who by his evangelising kindness</p>		<p>O king,</p>	<p>ἀσπόρως τε καὶ ἀφθόρως σάρκα ἀνέλαβε</p> <p>καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνθρώποις,</p> <p>ὅπως ἐκ τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης αὐτοῦς ἀνακαλέσεται. Καὶ τελέσας τὴν θαυμαστὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν διὰ σταυροῦ θανάτου ἐגעύσατο ἐκουσίᾳ βουλῇ κατ' οἰκονομίαν μεγάλην· μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνεβίω καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνῆλθεν. Οὗ τὸ κλέος τῆς παρουσίας ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης ἀγίας καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς</p> <p>γραφῆς ἔξεστὶ σοι γνῶναι, βασιλεῦ, ἐὰν ἐντύχῃς. (15.2) Οὗτος δώδεκα ἔσχε μαθητάς, οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
<p>as being preached;</p> <p>wherein if ye also will read, ye will comprehend the power that is upon it. This Jesus, then, was born of the tribe of the Hebrews;</p> <p>and He had twelve disciples,</p>	<p>captivated the whole world by his life giving preaching.</p> <p>He is the one who was born in a flesh from the Hebrew Virgin Mary, Mother of God. He chose his twelve disciples and with his illuminating truth</p>		<p>by going about and seeking have found the truth,</p> <p>and as we have comprehended from their writings</p> <p>(15.3) they are nearer to the truth and to exact</p>	<p>ἄνοδον αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἐδίδαξαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεγαλωσύνην· καθάπερ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰς καθ' ἡμᾶς περιῆλθε χώρας</p> <p>τὸ δόγμα κηρύσσων τῆς ἀληθείας. Ὅθεν οἱ εἰσέτι διακονοῦντες τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ κηρύγματος αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Χριστιανοί.</p> <p>(15.3) Καὶ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
<p>with all humility and sobriety; and on this account those also who today believe in this</p> <p>preaching are</p> <p>called Christians, who are well known.</p> <p>There are then four races of mankind, as I said before, Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians.</p> <p>To God then ministers wind, and to angels fire; but to demons water, and to men</p>	<p>Their</p> <p>teachings are until now blossoming and calling the whole universe to light.</p> <p>These are the four races that we present to you, o King, barbarians, Greek, Jews and Christians. and from divinity was revealed the spiritual, and from the angels fire and from the devils liquid and from earth: human</p>		<p>who has no other god as His fellow:</p> <p>from whom they received those commandments</p> <p>which they have engraved on their minds,</p>	<p>ἄλλον θεὸν πλὴν τούτου οὐ σέβονται.</p> <p>Ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ</p> <p>τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμένας,</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
earth.	race.		<p>which they keep in the hope and expectation of</p> <p>the world to come; (15.4-6) so that on this account they do not commit adultery nor fornication, they do not bear false witness they do not deny a deposit, nor covert what is not theirs: they honour father and mother; they do good to those who are their</p> <p>neighbours, and when they are judges they judge uprightly; and they do not worship idols in the form of man; and whatever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not practise towards any</p>	<p>καὶ ταύτας φυλάττουσι προσδοκῶντες ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος. (15.4-6)</p> <p>Οὐ μοιχεύουσιν, οὐ πορνεύουσιν, οὐ ψευδομαρτυροῦσιν,</p> <p>οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦσι τὰ ἀλλότρια, τιμῶσι πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ τοὺς πλησίον φιλοῦσι, δίκαια κρίνουσιν,</p> <p>ὅσα οὐ θέλουσιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἑτέρῳ οὐ ποιοῦσι,</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
		<p>πειθον[τε]ς και τους εχθρους ευ ποιησαι</p> <p>και αι γυναικες αυτων αγναι και παρθενοι εισιν</p> <p>και ταις γαστρασιν ουκ υποτιθεασιν οι δε ανδρες αυτων ενκρατευονται απο πασης συνουσιας ανομου</p> <p>και ακοθαρσιας μαλλον δε και αι γυναικες ομοιως ενκρατευονται ελπιδος γαρ μεγαλης αντεχονται της</p>	<p>one, and they do not eat of the meats of idol sacrifices, for they are undefiled: and those who grieve them they comfort, and make them their friends;</p> <p>and they do good to their enemies:</p> <p>and their wives, O king, are pure as virgins, and their daughters modest: and their</p> <p>men</p> <p>abstain from all</p> <p>unlawful wedlock and from all impurity,</p> <p>in the hope of the recompense that is to come</p>	<p>τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσι καὶ προσφιλεῖς ἐαυτοῖς ποιοῦσι, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐεργετεῖν σπουδάζουσι, πραεῖς εἰσι καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς,</p> <p>ἀπὸ πάσης συνουσίας ἀνόμου</p> <p>καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας</p> <p>ἐγκρατεύονται,</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
		<p>μαλλουσης αλλα και</p> <p>δουλους η παιδισκας εαν εχωσιν η τεκνα</p> <p>πειθουσιν αυτους χρειστιανους γενεσθαι ινα εχωσιν ευνοους και οταν γενωνται</p> <p>τοιουνται αδελφους καλουσιν αυτους αμεριστοι οντες θεους αλλοτριους ου προσκυνουσιν πραιες και επιεικεις και αιδημονες και απευδεις εισιν</p> <p>και αλληλους αγαπωσιν</p> <p>χηραν ουκ υπερορωσιν</p> <p>ορφανον δε σωζουσιν</p>	<p>in another world: but as for their servants or handmaids, or their children if any of them have any, they persuade them to become Christians for the love that they have towards them; and when they have become so, they call them without distinction brethren: they do not worship strange gods: and they walk in all humility and kindness, and falsehood is found among them, and they love one another: and from the widows they do not turn away their countenance: and they rescue the orphan from him who does him violence: and</p>	<p>χήραν οὐχ ὑπερορῶσιν,</p> <p>ὀρφανὸν οὐ λυποῦσιν·</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
		<p>ο εχων τω μη εχοντι ανεπιφθονως χορηγουσιν</p> <p>ξενους ινα ειδωσιν υπο την ιδιαν στεγην εις αγουσιν και χαιρουσιν επ αυτω ως επι αδελφω αληθινω ου γαρ κατα σαρκα αδελφους εαυτους καλουσιν αλλα κατα ψυχην</p> <p>(15.7-8) τελευτω]ντα δε πενητα εαν</p> <p>ειδωσιν</p> <p>καθ εκαστ]ος δυνανται αφθονως συμβαλλομ- ενοι θαπτουσιν καταδικασθ- εντας δε η φυλακισθεν τας εαν ακουσωσιν</p>	<p>he who has gives to him who has not, without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings, and rejoice over him as over a true brother; for they do not call</p> <p>brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit and in God:</p> <p>(15.7-8) but when one of their poor passes away from the world, and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability;</p> <p>and if they hear</p>	<p>ὁ ἔχων τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι ἀφθόνως ἐπιχορηγεῖ·</p> <p>ξένον ἐὰν ἴδωσιν ὑπὸ στέγην εἰσάγουσι καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῷ ἀληθινῷ· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ψυχὴν.</p> <p>(15.7-8)</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
		<p>ενεκεν του ονοματος του Χϋ κατακεκρ- ιμενους συνβαλλομενοι πεμπουσιν αυτοις α χρε(ι)αν εχουσιν ει δυνατο]ν και ρυνονται ει δε τις</p> <p>δουλος εστιν η πενης</p> <p>νηστεουσιν ημερας β η και γ</p> <p>και ο[τ]ι μελλουσ[ιν εαυτοις τειθεναι πεμπουσιν εκεινοι[ς] † οιομενοι αυτοι ευφανεσθαι ως αυτοι επ ευφασια<v> κεκλησθαι † και τα</p>	<p>that any of their number is imprisoned or oppressed for the name of their Messiah,</p> <p>all of them provide for his needs, and if it is possible that he may be delivered, they deliver him.</p> <p>And if there is among them a man that is poor or needy, and they have not an abundance of necessaries, they fast two or three days that they may supply the needy with their necessary food.</p> <p>And they</p>	<p>Ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν ὑπὲρ</p> <p>Χριστοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προέσθαι·</p> <p>τὰ γὰρ</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
		<p>προσταγματα του θυ ασφαλως φυλαττουσιν</p> <p>οσιως και δικαιως ζωντες και ως κς ο θς αυτοις προσεταξεν ευχαριστουσιν αυτω κατα πρωϊας και πασαν ωραν</p> <p>εν παντι βρωτω και ποτω και τοις λοιποις αγαθοις (15.9) εαν δε και</p> <p>αποθανη τις ευσεβης εξ αυτων χαιρουσιν και ευχαριστουσιν και προσευχονται περι αυτου και προπεμπουσιν ως αποδημουντα επαν δε τεκνον γεννηθη</p>	<p>observe scrupulously the commandments of their Messiah: they live honestly and soberly, as the Lord their God</p> <p>commanded them: every morning and at</p> <p>all hours on account of the goodnesses of God toward them they praise and laud Him: and over their food and over their drink they render Him thanks. (15.9) And if any righteous person of their number passes away from the world they rejoice and give thanks to God, and they follow his body, as if he were moving from one place to another: and when a child is born to any</p>	<p>προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσιν</p> <p>ὀσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες, καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ</p> <p>πᾶσαν ὥραν,</p> <p>ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς. (15.9)</p>

Syriac (chapter 2)	Armenian (chapter 2)	Greek Fragments: P.London (chapter 15)	Syriac (chapter 15)	Greek according to chapter 27 of <i>B&I</i> (chapter 15)
		<p>αυτοις ευχαριστουσιν τω θω εαν δε νηπιον ε]ξελθη υπερευχα- ριστουσιν</p> <p>οτι αναμαρτητο απηλθεν</p> <p>εαν δε</p> <p>αμαρτιας τις εχων αποθανη</p> <p>κλαιουσιν ως επι κολασιν απερχο[χ- ο]μενου αυτου ταυτα ουν</p> <p>ω βασιλευ τα δογματα αυτων εισιν</p>	<p>one of them, they praise God, and if again it chance to die in its infancy, they praise God mightily, as for one who has passed through the world without sins. And if again they see that one of their number has died in his iniquity or in his sins, over this one they weep bitterly and sigh, as over one who is about to go to punishment:</p> <p>such is the ordinance of the law of the Christians, O king, and such their conduct.</p>	